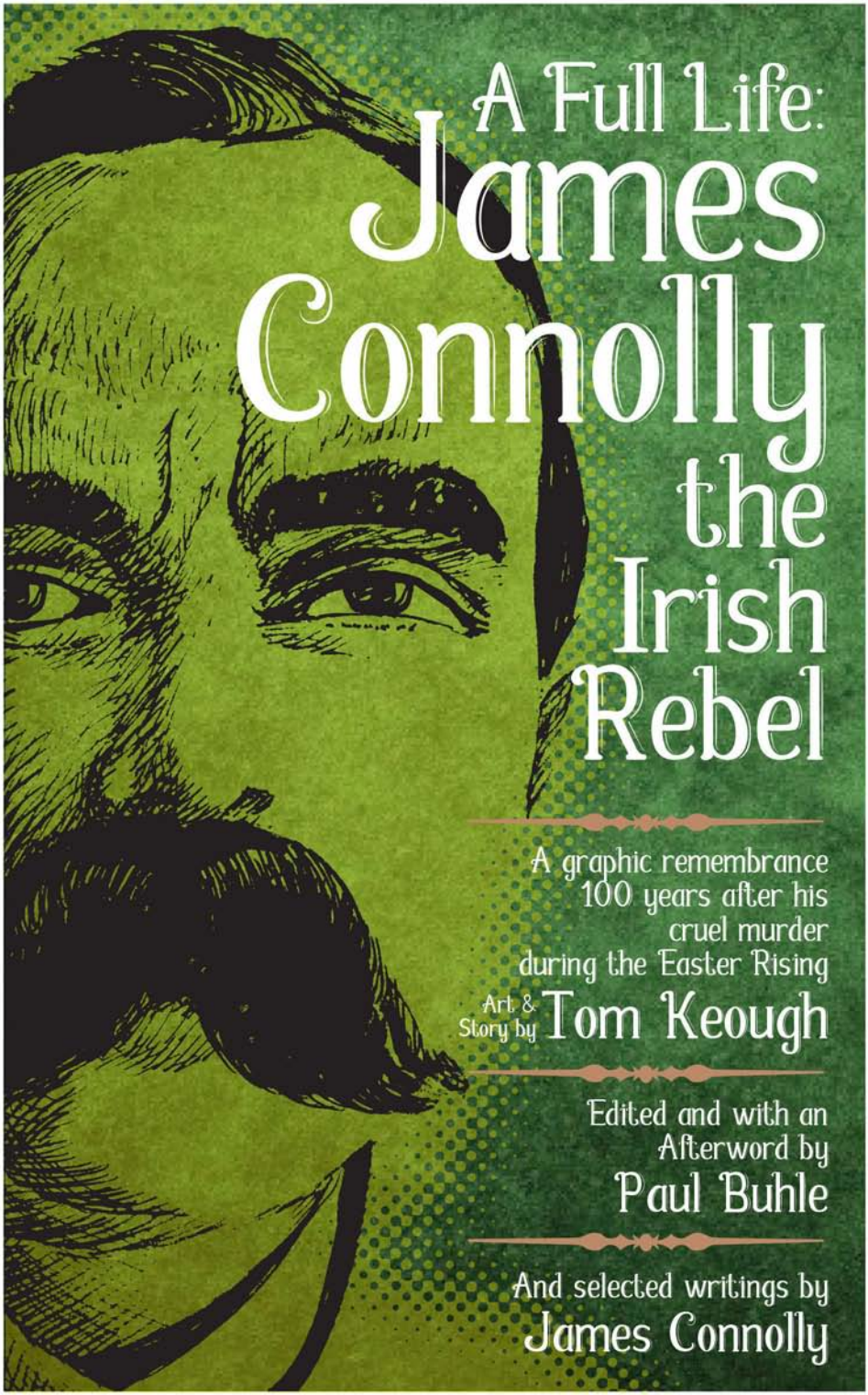
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James Connolly
the Irish Rebel
A graphic remembrance
100 years after his
cruel murder
during the Easter Rising
Art & Story by Tom Keough
Edited and with an
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Paul Buhle
And selected writings by
James Connolly

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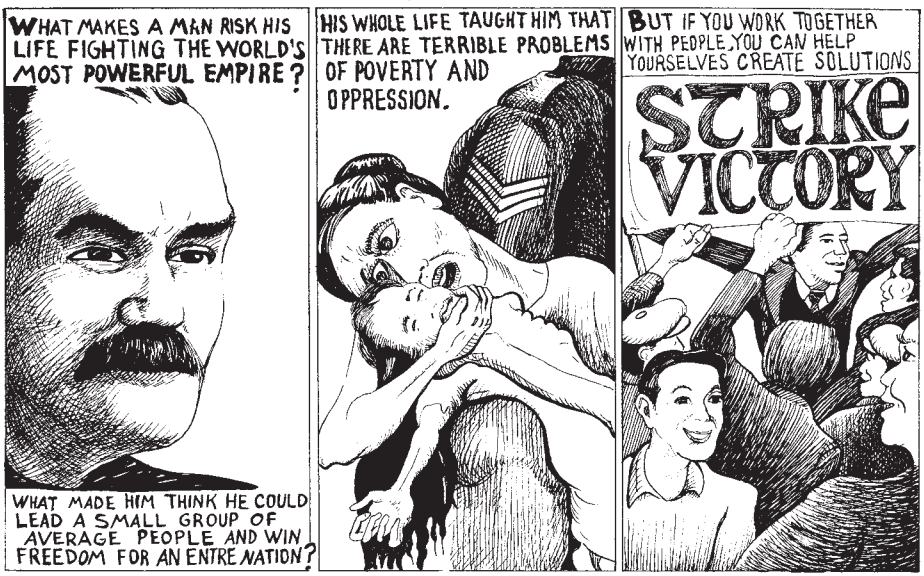
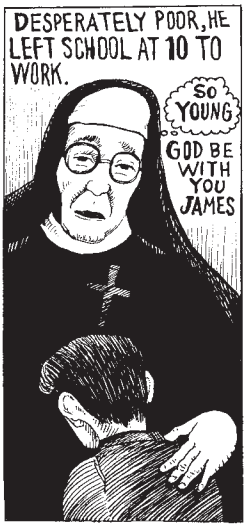
A Full Life: James Connolly

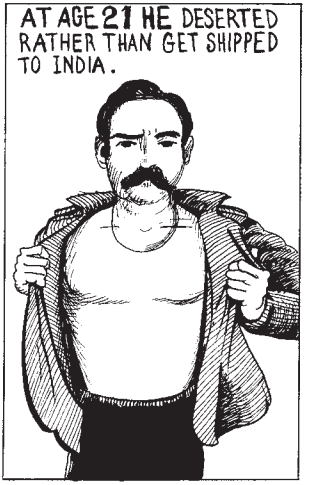

WHAT MAKES A MAN RISK HIS LIFE FIGHTING THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL EMPIRE?
WHAT MADE HIM THINK HE COULD LEAD A SMALL GROUP OF AVERAGE PEOPLE AND WIN FREEDOM FOR AN ENTRE NATION?
HIS WHOLE LIFE TAUGHT HIM THAT THERE ARE TERRIBLE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND OPPRESSION.
BUT IF YOU WORK TOGETHER WITH PEOPLE, YOU CAN HELP YOURSELVES CREATE SOLUTIONS
STRIKE
VICTORY

JAMES CONNOLLY GREW UP POOR IN THE LITTLE IRELAND SLUM IN EDINBURGH SCOTLAND.

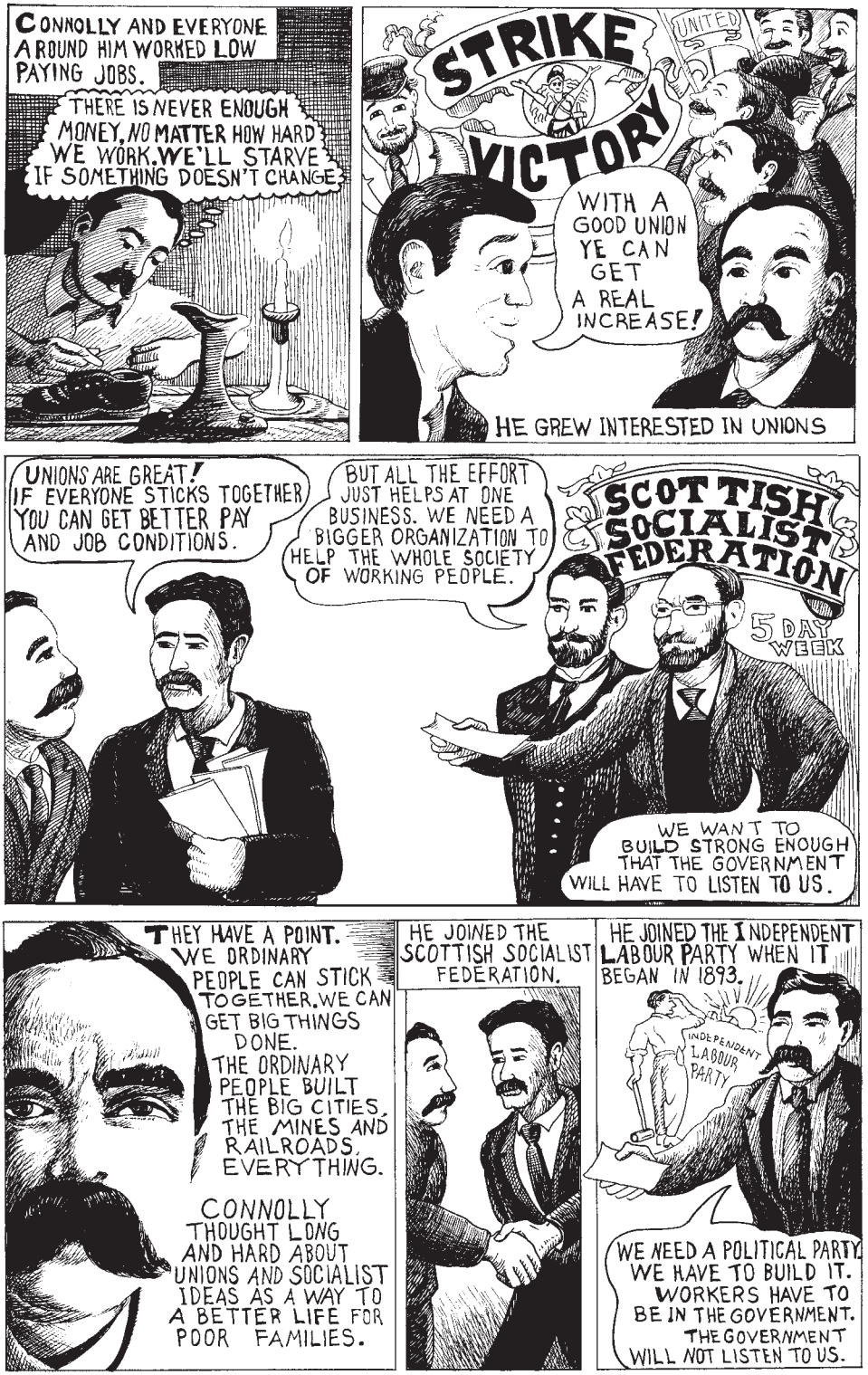

DESPERATELY POOR, HE LEFT SCHOOL AT 10 TO WORK.
SO YOUNG
GOD BE WITH YOU JAMES

AFTER 4 YEARS OF POVERTY WAGES, HE LIED ABOUT HIS AGE AND JOINED THE ARMY.
MY BROTHER DID THIS, I GUESS I HAVE NO CHOICE.

HE WAS STATIONED IN IRELAND FOR 7 YEARS. THIS BECAME A VERY IMPORTANT LESSON FOR HIM.
THIS MAKES ME HATE THE BRITISH ARMY SO MUCH!


AT AGE 21 HE DESERTED RATHER THAN GET SHIPPED TO INDIA.

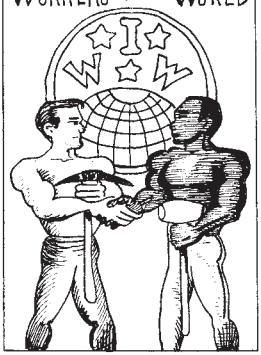
CONNOLLY FELL IN LOVE WITH WONDERFUL LILLIE REYNOLDS. THEY MOVED TO SCOTLAND, AND GOT MARRIED.


CONNOLLY AND EVERYONE AROUND HIM WORKED LOW PAYING JOBS.
THERE IS NEVER ENOUGH MONEY, NO MATTER HOW HARD WE WORK. WE'LL STARVE IF SOMETHING DOESN'T CHANGE
STRIKE
VICTORY
UNITED
WITH A GOOD UNION YE CAN GET A REAL INCREASE!
HE GREW INTERESTED IN UNIONS
UNIONS ARE GREAT! IF EVERYONE STICKS TOGETHER YOU CAN GET BETTER PAY AND JOB CONDITIONS.
BUT ALL THE EFFORT JUST HELPS AT ONE BUSINESS. WE NEED A BIGGER ORGANIZATION TO HELP THE WHOLE SOCIETY OF WORKING PEOPLE.
SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION
5 DAY WEEK
WE WANT TO BUILD STRONG ENOUGH THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO LISTEN TO US.
THEY HAVE A POINT. WE ORDINARY PEOPLE CAN STICK TOGETHER. WE CAN GET BIG THINGS DONE. THE ORDINARY PEOPLE BUILT THE BIG CITIES, THE MINES AND RAILROADS, EVERYTHING.
CONNOLLY THOUGHT LONG AND HARD ABOUT UNIONS AND SOCIALIST IDEAS AS A WAY TO A BETTER LIFE FOR POOR FAMILIES.
HE JOINED THE SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
HE JOINED THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY WHEN IT BEGAN IN 1893.
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
WE NEED A POLITICAL PARTY. WE HAVE TO BUILD IT. WORKERS HAVE TO BE IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT LISTEN TO US.

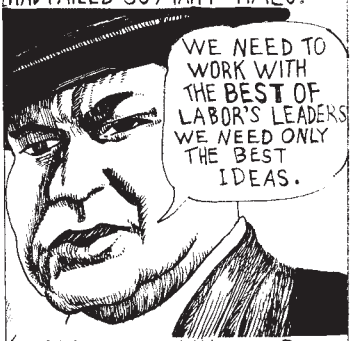
CONNOLLY BECAME THE HEAD OF THE SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
"NOBODY CROSSES THE PICKET LINE!"
THE FEDERATION IS PENNILESS... I CAN'T BEAR TO KEEP DOING THIS WITHOUT PAY
THE DUBLIN SOCIALIST CLUB HIRED HIM AS THEIR MAIN ORGANIZER, PAYING A POUND A WEEK.
WORKING WITH THE DUBLIN SOCIALISTS, CONNOLLY BUILT TIES ACROSS IRELAND.
AT LAST WE HAVE OUR IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY.
CONNOLLY PUT THE WORD REPUBLIC INTO USE BEFORE OTHER GROUPS USED IT.
THEY SAY THEY WANT TO MAKE IRELAND A REPUBLIC, NOT A PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE ANYMORE.
A REPUBLIC?
WORKERS' REPUBLIC
AFTER SO MUCH LONG HARD WORK, HE COULD NOT SUPPORT HIS FAMILY ON A POUND A WEEK.
LIKE SO MANY OTHERS, HE LEFT FOR AMERICA IN HOPE FOR BETTER PAY.
HE WORKED FOR THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY LECTURING AND TEACHING.
VOTES for WOMEN
EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT
SLP
HE MISSED HIS FAMILY AS HE WAITED FOR THEM TO FOLLOW HIM ACROSS.
'TIS CHRISTMAS DAY IN IRELAND, AND I'M SITTING HERE ALONE, THREE THOUSAND MILES OF OCEAN INTERVENE, AND THE FACES OF MY LOVED ONES IN MY LITTLE IRISH HOME, COME GLANCING IN AND OUT MY THOUGHTS BETWEEN; O, TO CATCH THE LOVING KISSES FROM MY LITTLE CHILDREN FLUNG,

HIS FAMILY FOLLOWED, BUT WERE MYSTERIOUSLY DELAYED.
FINALLY! MY FAMILY!
THEN HE SAW HOW SAD THEY WERE.
WHAT HAPPENED? WHERE'S MONA?
SOB, GASP! CHOKE
DA, MONA DIED. SHE BURNED! HER CLOTHES WERE IN FLAMES
I SAW IT. MONA WANTED TO BE WITH YOU SO MUCH!
INA AGE 9
YOU SAW IT?
YES DA,
HER APRON CAUGHT FIRE BY A STOVE.
I CAME HERE TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR US, ESPECIALLY MONA, OUR ELDEST.
THE FAMILY MOVED TO TROY, NEW YORK TO LIVE WITH JAMES CONNOLLY'S SISTER
WHILE HE SOLD INSURANCE DOOR TO DOOR
AND HIS DAUGHTERS NORA AND INA PUSHED SHIPPING CARTS OF SHIRT COLLARS THROUGH THE STREETS.
CONNOLLY ORGANIZED THE SHIRT COLLAR WORKERS TO STRIKE!
ON STRIKE
THIS BECAME ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STRIKES EVER HELD IN TROY.

JAMES CONNOLLY WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH A NEW TYPE OF UNION, FORMED IN 1905 The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD



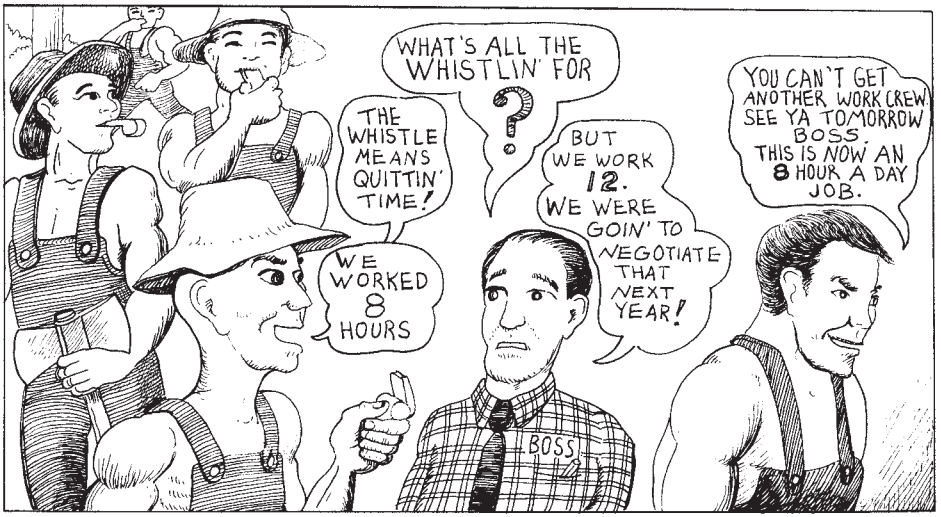
THE MOST SERIOUS ORGANIZERS IN THE U.S. AND CANADA HAD FAILED SO MANY TIMES.



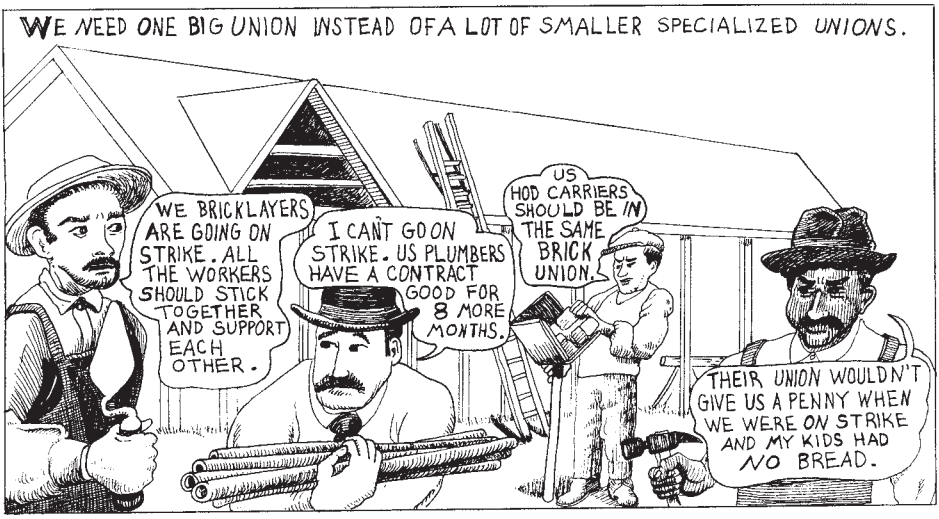
BIG BILL HAYWOOD, WESTERN FEDERATION of MINERS

WE NEED DIRECT ACTION AT THE PLACE WHERE YOU WORK. WE CAN'T WAIT YEARS FOR A BILL FROM CONGRESS! OUR FAMLIES WILL STARVE TO DEATH WAITING!

MOTHER MARY JONES ORGANIZED MINERS IN THE EAST


WHAT'S ALL THE WHISTLIN' FOR ?
THE WHISTLE MEANS QUITTIN' TIME!
WE WORKED 8 HOURS
BUT WE WORK 12. WE WERE GOIN' TO NEGOTIATE THAT NEXT YEAR!
YOU CAN'T GET ANOTHER WORK CREW SEE YA TOMORROW BOSS. THIS IS NOW AN 8 HOUR A DAY JOB.
BOSS

WE NEED ONE BIG UNION INSTEAD OF A LOT OF SMALLER SPECIALIZED UNIONS.


WE BRICKLAYERS ARE GOING ON STRIKE. ALL THE WORKERS SHOULD STICK TOGETHER AND SUPPORT EACH OTHER.
I CAN'T GO ON STRIKE. US PLUMBERS HAVE A CONTRACT GOOD FOR 8 MORE MONTHS.
US HOD CARRIERS SHOULD BE IN THE SAME BRICK UNION.
THEIR UNION WOULDN'T GIVE US A PENNY WHEN WE WERE ON STRIKE AND MY KIDS HAD NO BREAD.

WHEN US ROOFERS WERE ON STRIKE THE BRICKLAYERS UNION SAID THAT IF WE GOT A RAISE, THERE'D BE LESS MONEY FOR BRICKLAYERS.

WE NEED TO GIVE SUPPORT TO ANY STRIKE OR DISPUTE NOT JUST FOR YOUR OWN UNION OR FAMILY. WE ALL NEED TO STICK TOGETHER.

LUCY PARSONS, ORGANIZER

EVERY TIME A CLEANING LADY GETS PAID LESS THAN A JANITOR DOING THE SAME WORK, IT HURTS ALL THE WOMEN AND ALL THE MEN. IT ROBS WOMEN AND KEEPS MEN WORKING FOR LOW PAY SO HE WON'T GET REPLACED BY A WOMAN. WHEN NEGROES OR JEWS OR THE CHINESE ARE PAID LESS, IT KEEPS WAGES LOW FOR ALL. WHITE CHRISTIANS ARE PAID A LITTLE MORE AND TOLD THAT THEY ARE NOT EXPLOITED.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IS DEAD WRONG REFUSING TO ALLOW MEMBERSHIP TO NEGROES, ITALIANS, FILIPINOS, AND THE CHINESE. IT IS NOT FAIR — AND IT BACKFIRES.

I'LL WORK FOR HALF PAY SO THE BOSS WON'T HIRE A WOMAN OR A KID.

MR. BLOCK, HIS HEAD IS SOLID WOOD NO BRAINS.

TOO MANY UNIONS KEEP OUT WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND ANYBODY THE BOSS WANTS TO UNDERPAY.

IN GOLDFIELD, NEVADA, MINERS ASKED THE IWW TO HELP THEM BUILD A UNION.

THE MINERS ASKED EVERYONE WORKING AT EVERY JOB IN GOLDFIELD TO JOIN THEIR UNION.

CLERKS

COOKS

TEAMSTERS

TINKERS

SMITHIES

I'M HAPPY TO BE IN A UNION!

WITH THE WORKERS AT EVERY JOB IN TOWN IN THE SAME ORGANIZATION, THEY DEMANDED THAT NOBODY IN TOWN SHOULD EVER BE PAID LESS THAN $4.50 PER DAY

WOBS WIN STRIKE!

TOWN MINIMUM WAGE LAW
$4.50 PER DAY!
8 HOUR DAY!
for ALL JOBS IN TOWN

THIS WAS THE FIRST U.S. MINIMUM WAGE LAW.

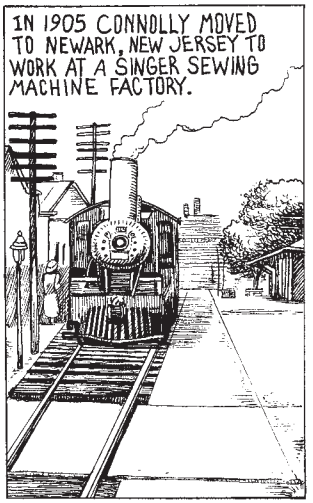
SOCIETY SAYS YOU CAN'T DO ANYTHING TO SOLVE YOUR PROBLEMS. ALL YOU CAN DO IS GET A LAWYER TO FIGHT FOR YOU. YOU WAIT UNTIL THE LAWYERS MAKE A DECISION. WOBS WIN BECAUSE THEY DON'T WAIT. THEY GO OUT AND WORK AT IT. THEY STRIKE, BOYCOTT, SLOWDOWN, ORGANIZE, AND FIND A WAY TO WIN.

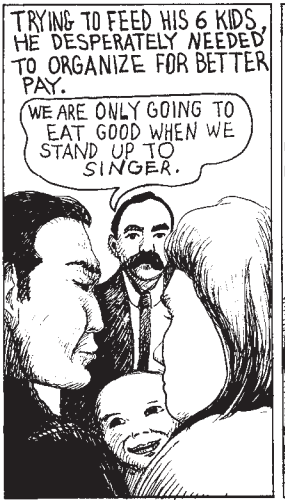
☆ EDUCATE

☆ AGITATE ☆ ORGANIZE

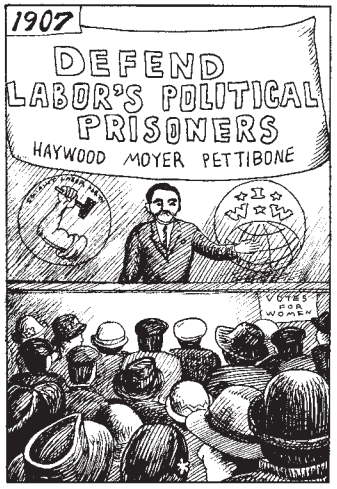
THE I.W.W. GOT THE FIRST U.S. MINIMUM WAGE LAWS, SHORTER HOURS, RAISES, AN END TO CHILD LABOR, AND IMPROVEMENTS AT THOUSANDS OF JOBS.

"WORKERS THEMSELVES ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO IMPROVE THEIR OWN JOBS, RUN THEIR OWN ORGANIZATION, AND ULTIMATELY BRING GENUINE DEMOCRACY INTO THE WORKPLACE"
DANIEL GROSS
I·W·W·

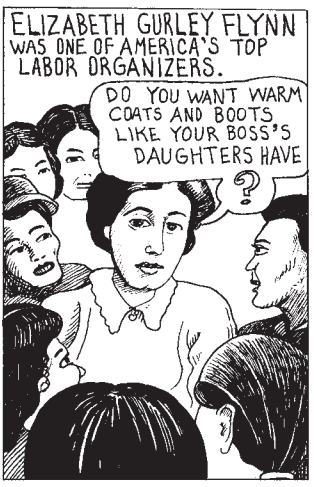

IN 1905 CONNOLLY MOVED TO NEWARK, NEW JERSEY TO WORK AT A SINGER SEWING MACHINE FACTORY.

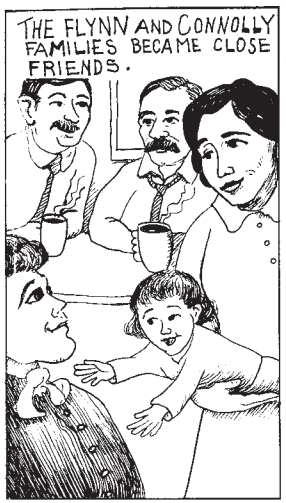

TRYING TO FEED HIS 6 KIDS, HE DESPERATELY NEEDED TO ORGANIZE FOR BETTER PAY.
WE ARE ONLY GOING TO EAT GOOD WHEN WE STAND UP TO SINGER.

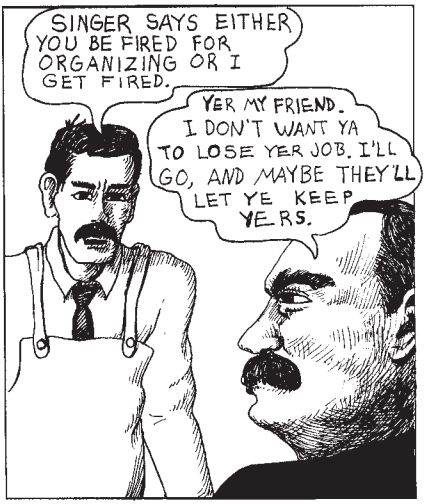
WITH OVER 9,000 EMPLOYEES AT SINGER, MANY WERE GERMAN OR ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS. CONNOLLY WORKED HARD TO LEARN ITALIAN AND GERMAN.
UND DER INTERESSEN DER ARBEITERKLASSE
UND DER INTERESSEN DER ARBEITERKLASSE

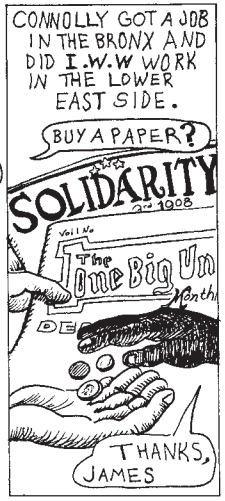

1907
DEFEND LABOR'S POLITICAL PRISONERS
HAYWOOD MOYER PETTIBONE
I W W
VOTES FOR WOMEN

MISS FLYNN! I'M SO GLAD TO MEET YA FINALLY.


ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN WAS ONE OF AMERICA'S TOP LABOR ORGANIZERS.
DO YOU WANT WARM COATS AND BOOTS LIKE YOUR BOSS'S DAUGHTERS HAVE
?


THE FLYNN AND CONNOLLY FAMILIES BECAME CLOSE FRIENDS.


SINGER SAYS EITHER YOU BE FIRED FOR ORGANIZING OR I GET FIRED.
YER MY FRIEND. I DON'T WANT YA TO LOSE YER JOB. I'LL GO, AND MAYBE THEY'LL LET YE KEEP YERS.


CONNOLLY GOT A JOB IN THE BRONX AND DID I.W.W WORK IN THE LOWER EAST SIDE.
BUY A PAPER?
SOLIDARITY
1908
The Time Big Un
THANKS, JAMES

WITH ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN'S FAMILY AND FRIENDS CONNOLLY HELPED ORGANIZE THE **I**RISH **S**OCIALIST **F**EDERATION.

IRISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION

Faugh-a-Ballach *

MIKE, TOMMY READ THIS.

* CLEAR THE WAY

THE **I.S.F.** HAD **3** PURPOSES:

ORGANIZE THE IRISH IN THE U.S. TO ASSIST THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

TEACH THE IRISH IN THE U.S. SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES.

VOTE SOCIALIST THIS ELECTION.

TEACH THEM TO COOPERATE WITH WORKERS OF ALL OTHER RACES AND NATIONALITIES.

CONNOLLY WAS ALWAYS ADMIRED FOR HIS WRITING. HE WROTE BOOKS, MANY PAMPHLETS, NEWS EDITORIALS, SONGS, POEMS, AND A PLAY. HE BECAME THE EDITOR OF *THE HARP*, THE MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE FEDERATION. HE HAD PLENTY OF TIME TO WRITE AND PRODUCED MUCH WORK.

The Harp

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR SHOULD WELCOME THE IMMIGRANTS.

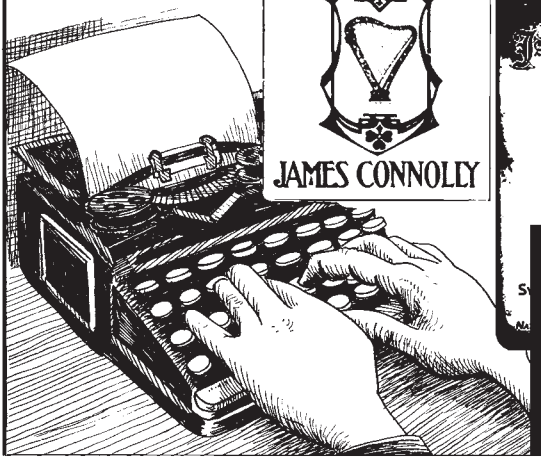
WOMEN MUST BE EMANCIPATED.

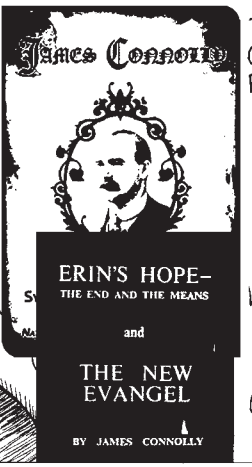
NONE IS SO FITTED TO BREAK THE CHAINS AS THEY WHO WEAR THEM, NONE SO WELL EQUIPPED TO DECIDE WHAT IS A FETTER.

HE WROTE THAT PREJUDICE IS WRONG. PREJUDICE *AMONG* THE WORKING CLASS WILL ALWAYS BENEFIT THE WEALTHY. IT KEEPS US DIVIDED. THERE IS NO GOOD REASON FOR PROTESTANTS TO HATE CATHOLICS. IT CAN ONLY CAUSE CATHOLICS TO HATE THEM. WE NEED TO JOIN TOGETHER AND WORK TO LIFT OURSELVES OUT OF POVERTY.

SOCIALISM MADE EASY

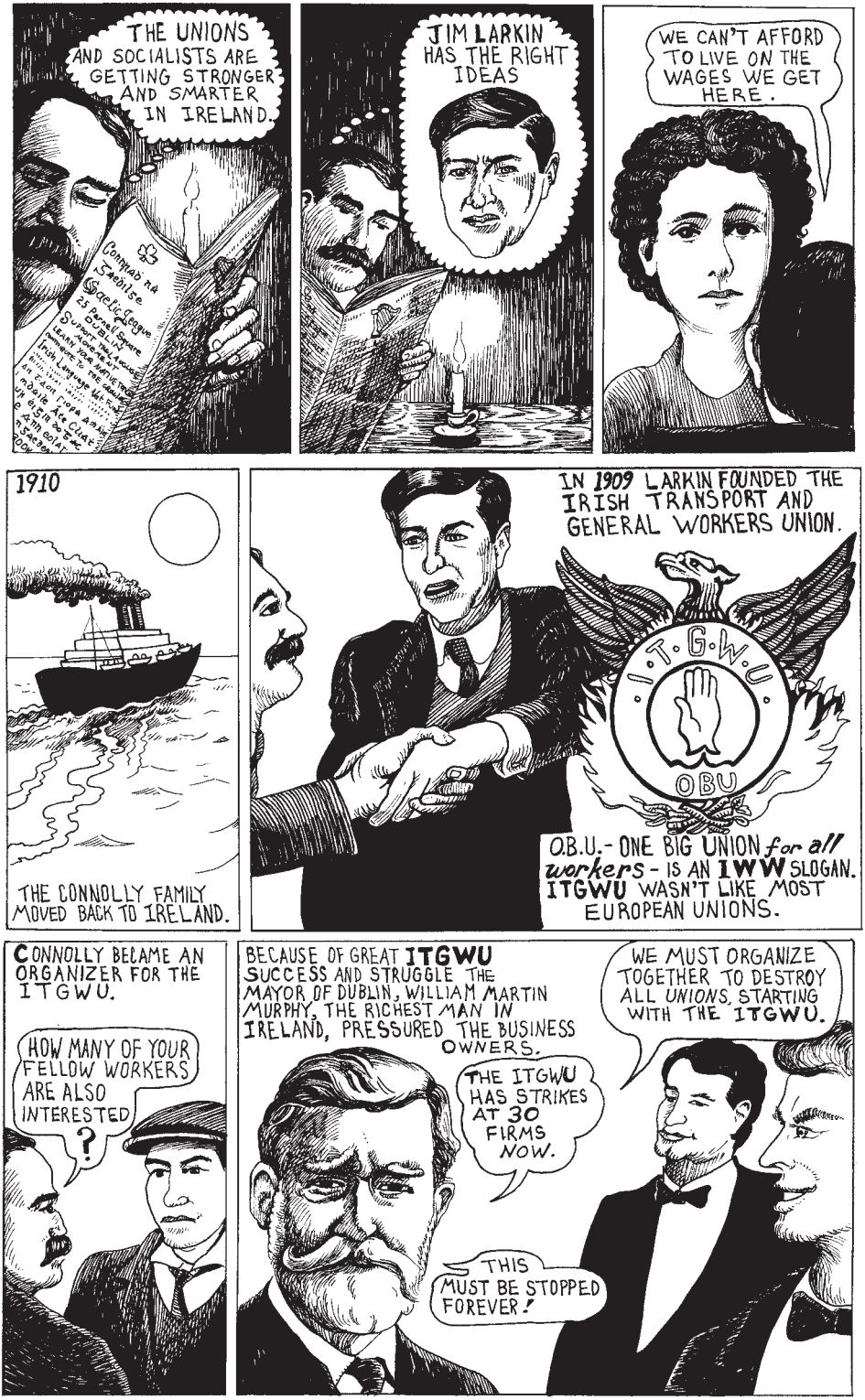
JAMES CONNOLLY

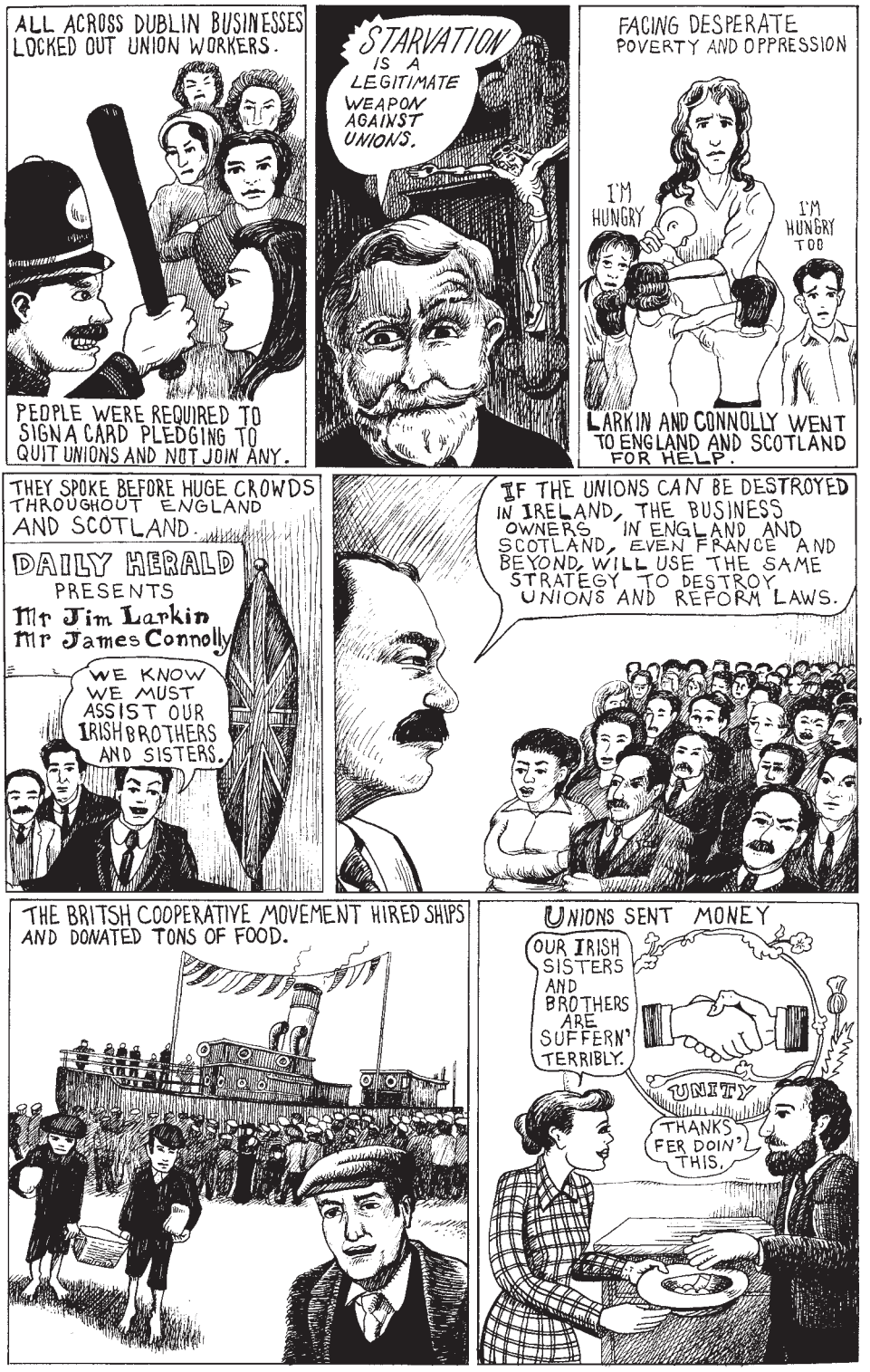


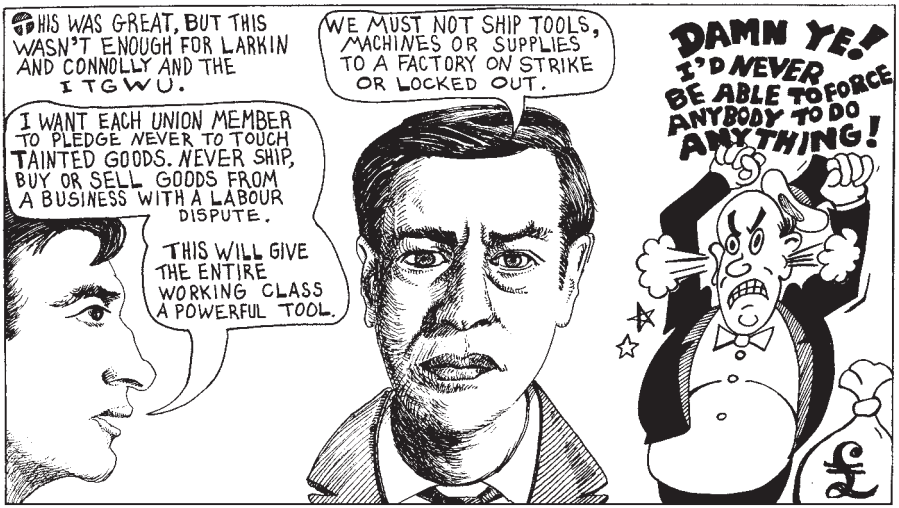


TOO MANY CHURCH GOERS ARE REPELLED BY SOCIALISTS WITH RUDE ATHEISM.

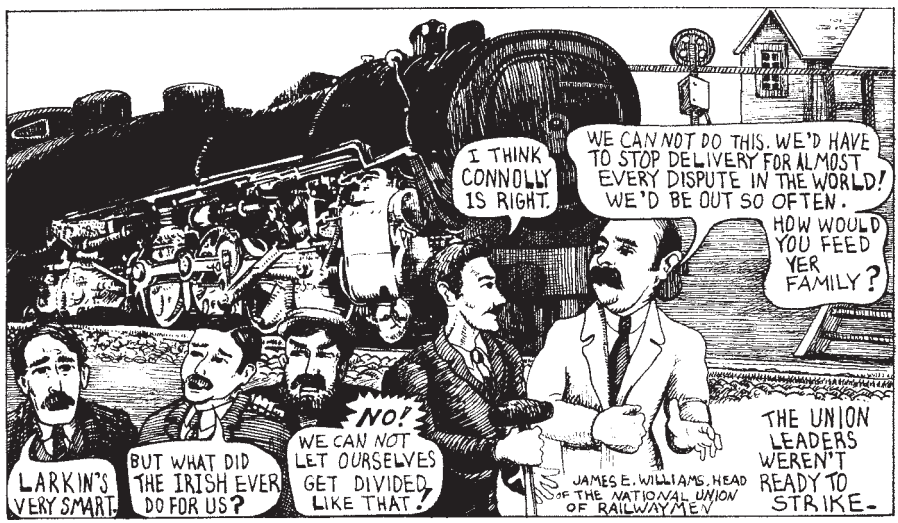
THE IRISH CAN RULE IRELAND. WITHOUT BRITISH IMPERIALISM. THE WORKING PEOPLE OF INDIA CAN RULE INDIA.

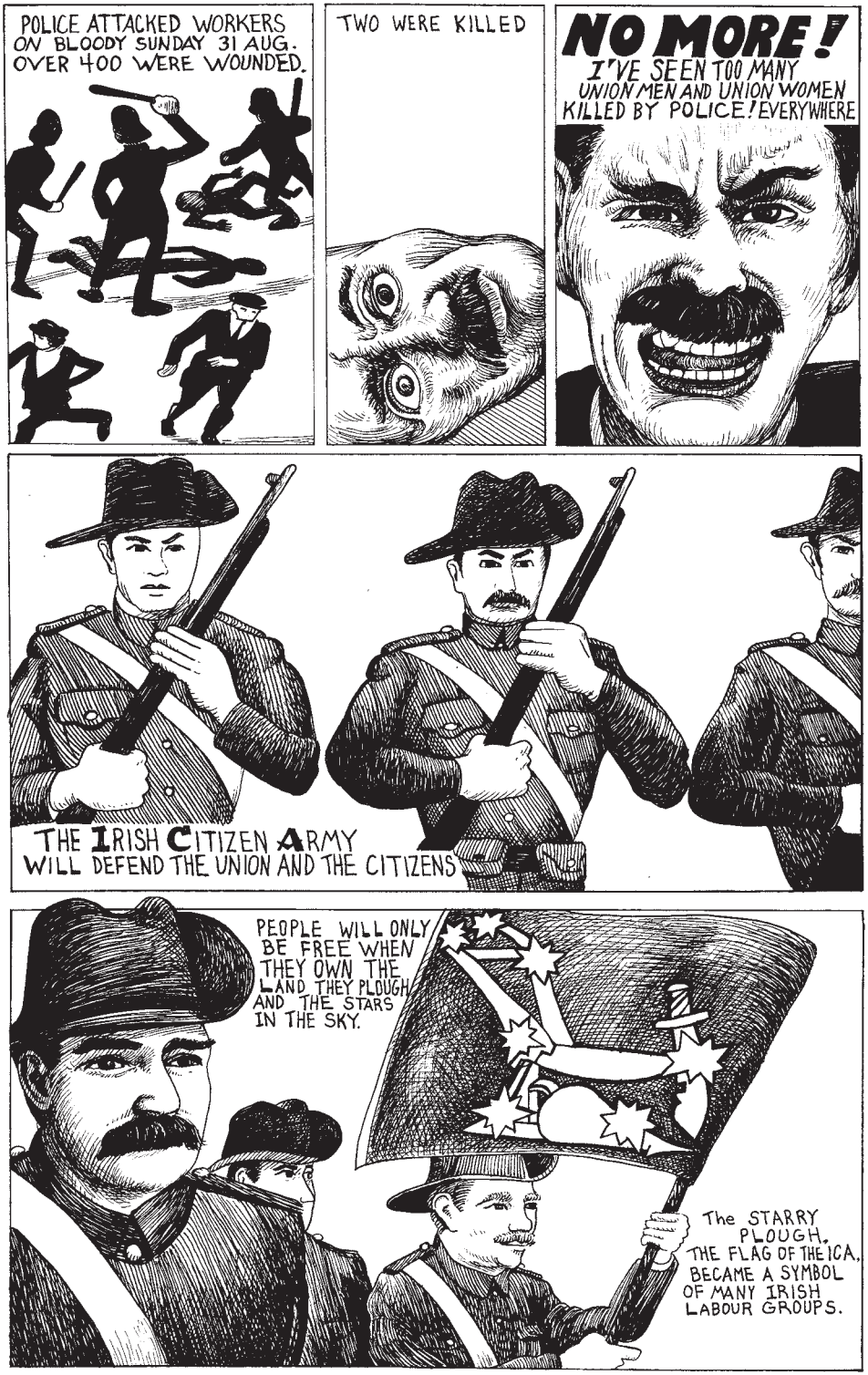

THE UNIONS AND SOCIALISTS ARE GETTING STRONGER AND SMARTER IN IRELAND.
JIM LARKIN HAS THE RIGHT IDEAS
WE CAN'T AFFORD TO LIVE ON THE WAGES WE GET HERE.
1910
THE CONNOLLY FAMILY MOVED BACK TO IRELAND.
IN 1909 LARKIN FOUNDED THE IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION.
I.T.G.W.U.
OBU
O.B.U.- ONE BIG UNION for all workers - IS AN IWW SLOGAN. ITGWU WASN'T LIKE MOST EUROPEAN UNIONS.
CONNOLLY BECAME AN ORGANIZER FOR THE ITGWU.
HOW MANY OF YOUR FELLOW WORKERS ARE ALSO INTERESTED ?
BECAUSE OF GREAT ITGWU SUCCESS AND STRUGGLE THE MAYOR OF DUBLIN, WILLIAM MARTIN MURPHY, THE RICHEST MAN IN IRELAND, PRESSURED THE BUSINESS OWNERS.
THE ITGWU HAS STRIKES AT 30 FIRMS NOW.
THIS MUST BE STOPPED FOREVER!
WE MUST ORGANIZE TOGETHER TO DESTROY ALL UNIONS, STARTING WITH THE ITGWU.


ALL ACROSS DUBLIN BUSINESSES LOCKED OUT UNION WORKERS.
PEOPLE WERE REQUIRED TO SIGN A CARD PLEDGING TO QUIT UNIONS AND NOT JOIN ANY.
STARVATION IS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON AGAINST UNIONS.
FACING DESPERATE POVERTY AND OPPRESSION
I'M HUNGRY
I'M HUNGRY TOO
LARKIN AND CONNOLLY WENT TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FOR HELP.
THEY SPOKE BEFORE HUGE CROWDS THROUGHOUT ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.
DAILY HERALD PRESENTS
Mr Jim Larkin
Mr James Connolly
WE KNOW WE MUST ASSIST OUR IRISH BROTHERS AND SISTERS.
IF THE UNIONS CAN BE DESTROYED IN IRELAND, THE BUSINESS OWNERS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, EVEN FRANCE AND BEYOND, WILL USE THE SAME STRATEGY TO DESTROY UNIONS AND REFORM LAWS.
THE BRITSH COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT HIRED SHIPS AND DONATED TONS OF FOOD.
UNIONS SENT MONEY
OUR IRISH SISTERS AND BROTHERS ARE SUFFERN' TERRIBLY.
UNITY
THANKS FER DOIN' THIS.


THIS WAS GREAT, BUT THIS WASN'T ENOUGH FOR LARKIN AND CONNOLLY AND THE ITGWU.
I WANT EACH UNION MEMBER TO PLEDGE NEVER TO TOUCH TAINTED GOODS. NEVER SHIP, BUY OR SELL GOODS FROM A BUSINESS WITH A LABOUR DISPUTE.
THIS WILL GIVE THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS A POWERFUL TOOL.
WE MUST NOT SHIP TOOLS, MACHINES OR SUPPLIES TO A FACTORY ON STRIKE OR LOCKED OUT.
DAMN YE! I'D NEVER BE ABLE TO FORCE ANYBODY TO DO ANYTHING!
£

WE NEED THE UNIONS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND TO STRIKE TO SHOW WE CAN NOT LET OUR CLASS BE MISTREATED SO BADLY BY PEOPLE LIKE MURPHY!
THIS IS ALSO CALLED A SYMPATHY STRIKE.
IT IS ONE OF LABOUR'S MOST IMPORTANT TOOLS.
IT CAN GROW AS LARGE AS A GENERAL STRIKE THAT CAN SOMETIMES PUSH A GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN OR FLEE.
MORE OFTEN IT MEANS THAT WHEN ONE GROUP OF PEOPLE IN A BUSINESS GOES ON STRIKE, THE OTHER WORKERS JOIN THEM AND STRIKE OR SLOW DOWN.
OR IT CAN BE AS SIMPLE AS POLITELY REFUSING TO CROSS A PICKET LINE WITH A DELIVERY.
NEVER CROSS A PICKET LINE.
THE NEXT LOCKOUT COULD BE AT YOUR JOB.
ALL ACROSS THE U.K. PEOPLE TALKED ABOUT THIS IDEA.
WHEN WE WERE ON STRIKE ALMOST NOBODY HELPED US. THIS WOULD HAVE MADE A HUGE DIFFERENCE
BETTER THAN GETTING A LITTLE BREAD FROM ANOTHER UNION OR A CHURCH
WE SHOULD GO OUT.
MY FAMILY CAN'T AFFORD IT!
MAYBE FOR JUST 2 DAYS?


I THINK CONNOLLY IS RIGHT.
WE CAN NOT DO THIS. WE'D HAVE TO STOP DELIVERY FOR ALMOST EVERY DISPUTE IN THE WORLD! WE'D BE OUT SO OFTEN.
HOW WOULD YOU FEED YER FAMILY?
LARKIN'S VERY SMART.
BUT WHAT DID THE IRISH EVER DO FOR US?
NO! WE CAN NOT LET OURSELVES GET DIVIDED LIKE THAT!
JAMES E. WILLIAMS, HEAD OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAYMEN
THE UNION LEADERS WEREN'T READY TO STRIKE.

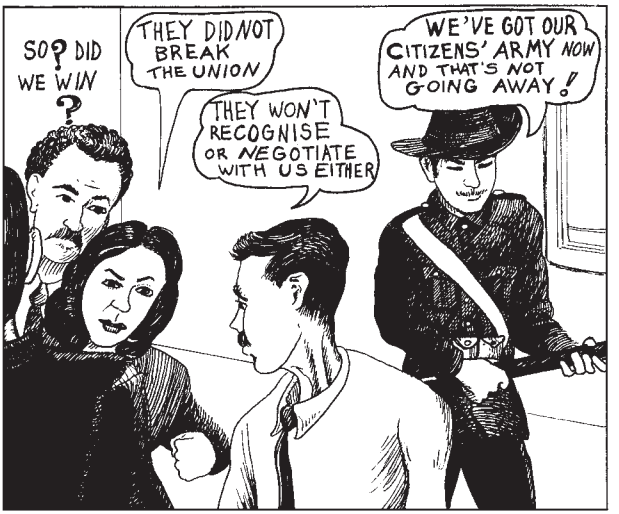

POLICE ATTACKED WORKERS ON BLOODY SUNDAY 31 AUG. OVER 400 WERE WOUNDED.
TWO WERE KILLED
NO MORE!
I'VE SEEN TOO MANY UNION MEN AND UNION WOMEN KILLED BY POLICE! EVERYWHERE
THE IRISH CITIZEN ARMY WILL DEFEND THE UNION AND THE CITIZENS
PEOPLE WILL ONLY BE FREE WHEN THEY OWN THE LAND THEY PLOUGH AND THE STARS IN THE SKY.
The STARRY PLOUGH, THE FLAG OF THE ICA, BECAME A SYMBOL OF MANY IRISH LABOUR GROUPS.

FROM JANUARY TO MAY 1914, MANY OF THE 400 BUSINESSES ENDED THE LOCKOUT AND ALLOWED PEOPLE BACK WITHOUT PLEDGING TO BE *NON UNION*. HOWEVER, MANY STARVING PEOPLE DID GO BACK TO WORK AND SIGNED THE ANTI-UNION PLEDGES.

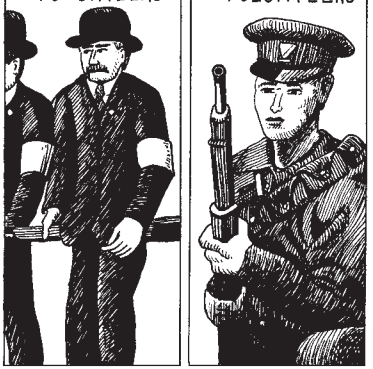
UNIONS THAT WERE SENDING FOOD AND MONEY ENDED THEIR SUPPORT.

BOTH EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES WERE HURT BADLY.

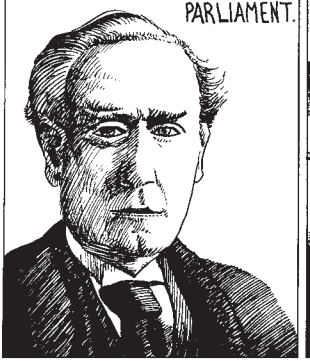
NEITHER SIDE WON ANYTHING SUBSTANTIAL.


SO? DID WE WIN?
THEY DID NOT BREAK THE UNION
THEY WON'T RECOGNISE OR NEGOTIATE WITH US EITHER
WE'VE GOT OUR CITIZENS' ARMY NOW AND THAT'S NOT GOING AWAY!

WHEN THE ICA WAS STARTED, TWO OTHER GROUPS OF IRISH WERE BUILDING MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS.



BECAUSE OF *GROWING* REPUBLICANISM, IN **1912** PRIME MINISTER ASQUITH PUSHED THROUGH AN IRISH HOME RULE BILL THAT WOULD HAVE A SMALL SET OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND AN IRISH PARLIAMENT.

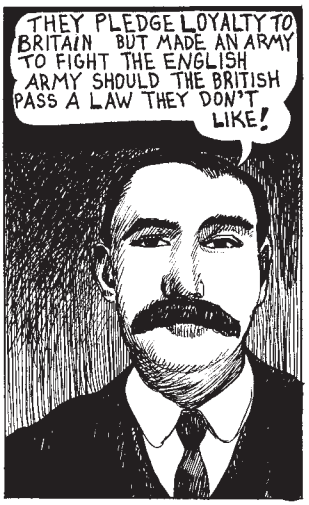


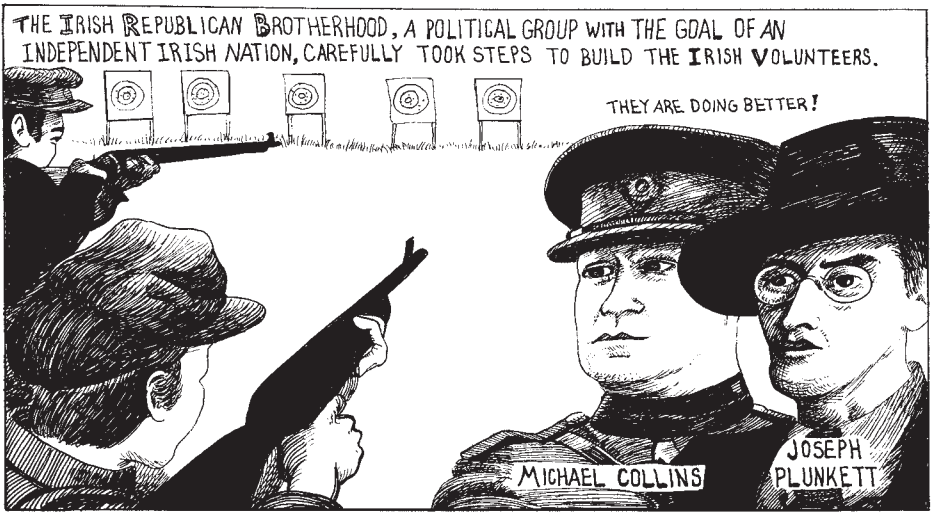
ULSTER PROTESTANTS WERE SHOCKED! THEY FEARED LIVING IN IRELAND IF CATHOLICS, WHO HAD BEEN MISTREATED SO BADLY FOR SO LONG WOULD HAVE POWER AND MUCH LARGER *NUMBERS*.

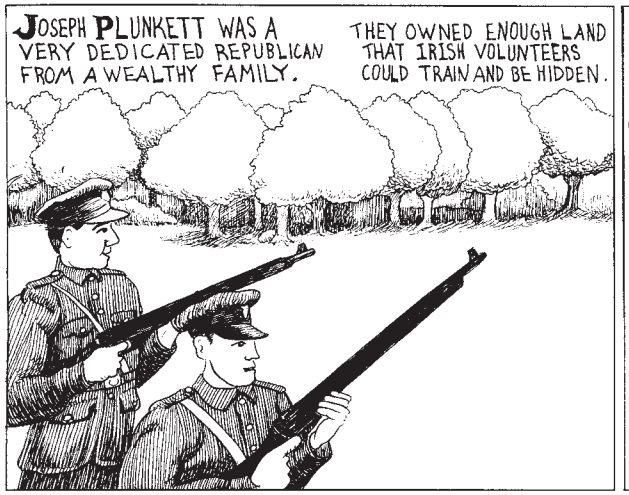
©VER **450,000** ULSTER RESIDENTS SIGNED A PLEDGE TO RESIST HOME RULE.

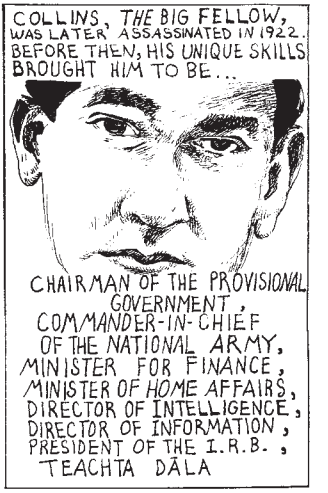
FRIGHTENED ULSTER UNIONISTS* FORMED THE ULSTER VOLUNTEERS MILITIA

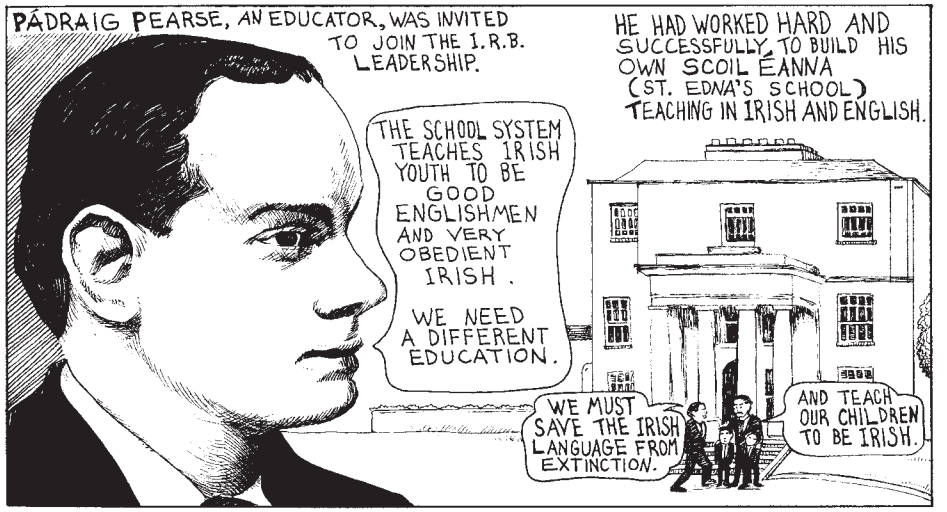
* IN IRELAND, UNIONIST MEANS PEOPLE WHO WANT TO STAY *IN UNION* WITH THE *UNITED* KINGDOM. IT HAS *NOTHING* TO DO WITH LABOUR UNIONS.

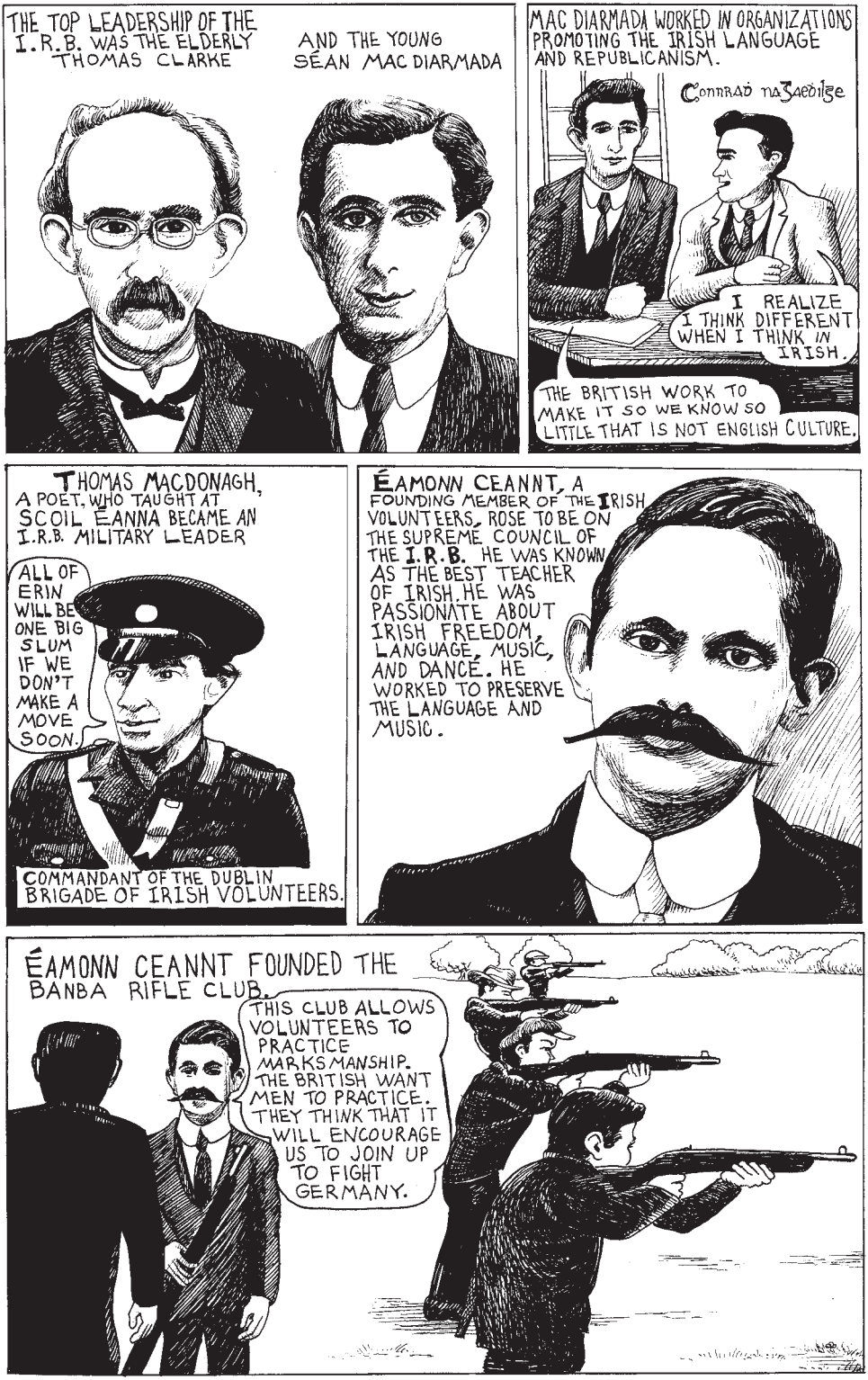



THE IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD, A POLITICAL GROUP WITH THE GOAL OF AN INDEPENDENT IRISH NATION, CAREFULLY TOOK STEPS TO BUILD THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS.
THEY ARE DOING BETTER!
MICHAEL COLLINS
JOSEPH PLUNKETT

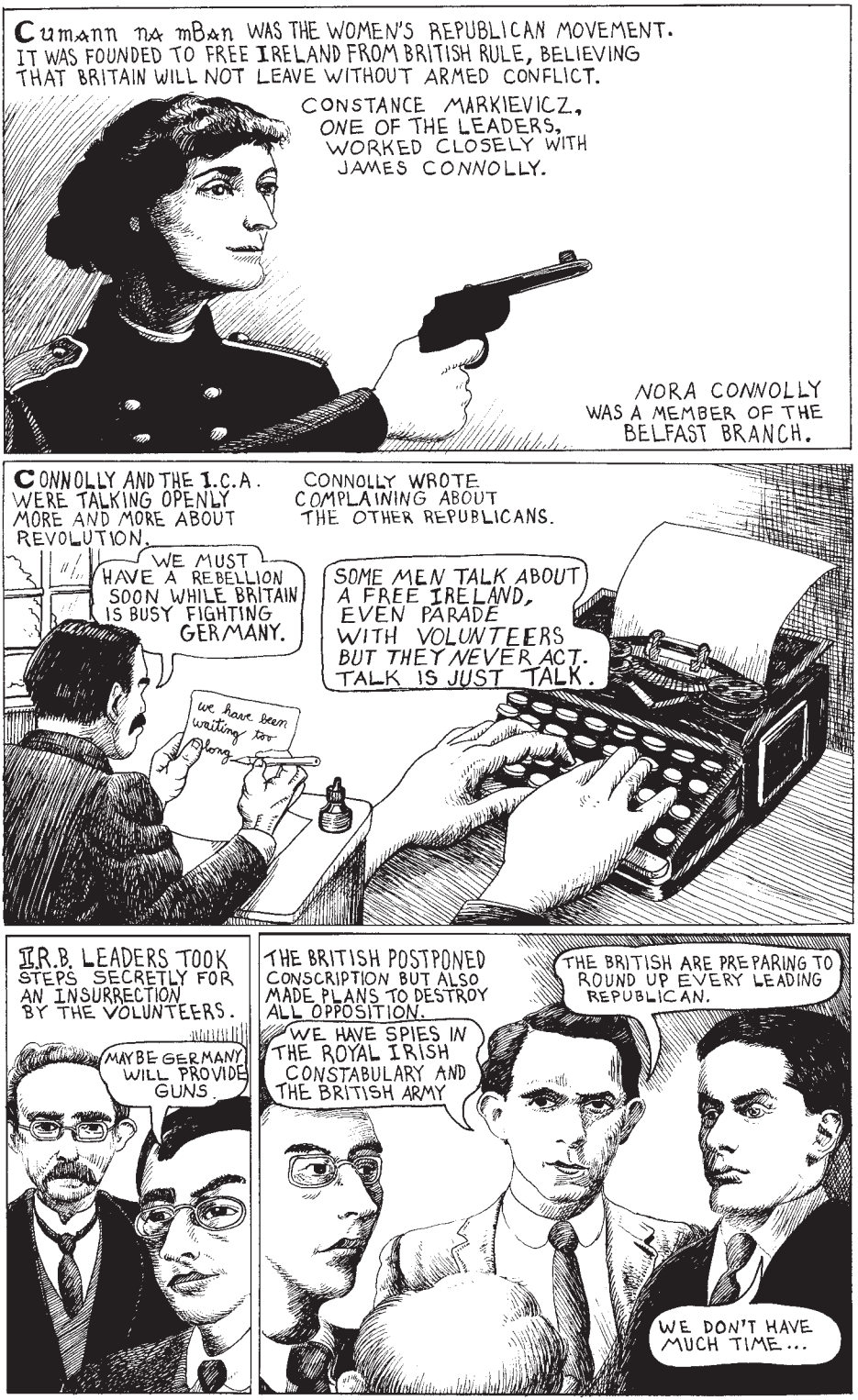

JOSEPH PLUNKETT WAS A VERY DEDICATED REPUBLICAN FROM A WEALTHY FAMILY.
THEY OWNED ENOUGH LAND THAT IRISH VOLUNTEERS COULD TRAIN AND BE HIDDEN.

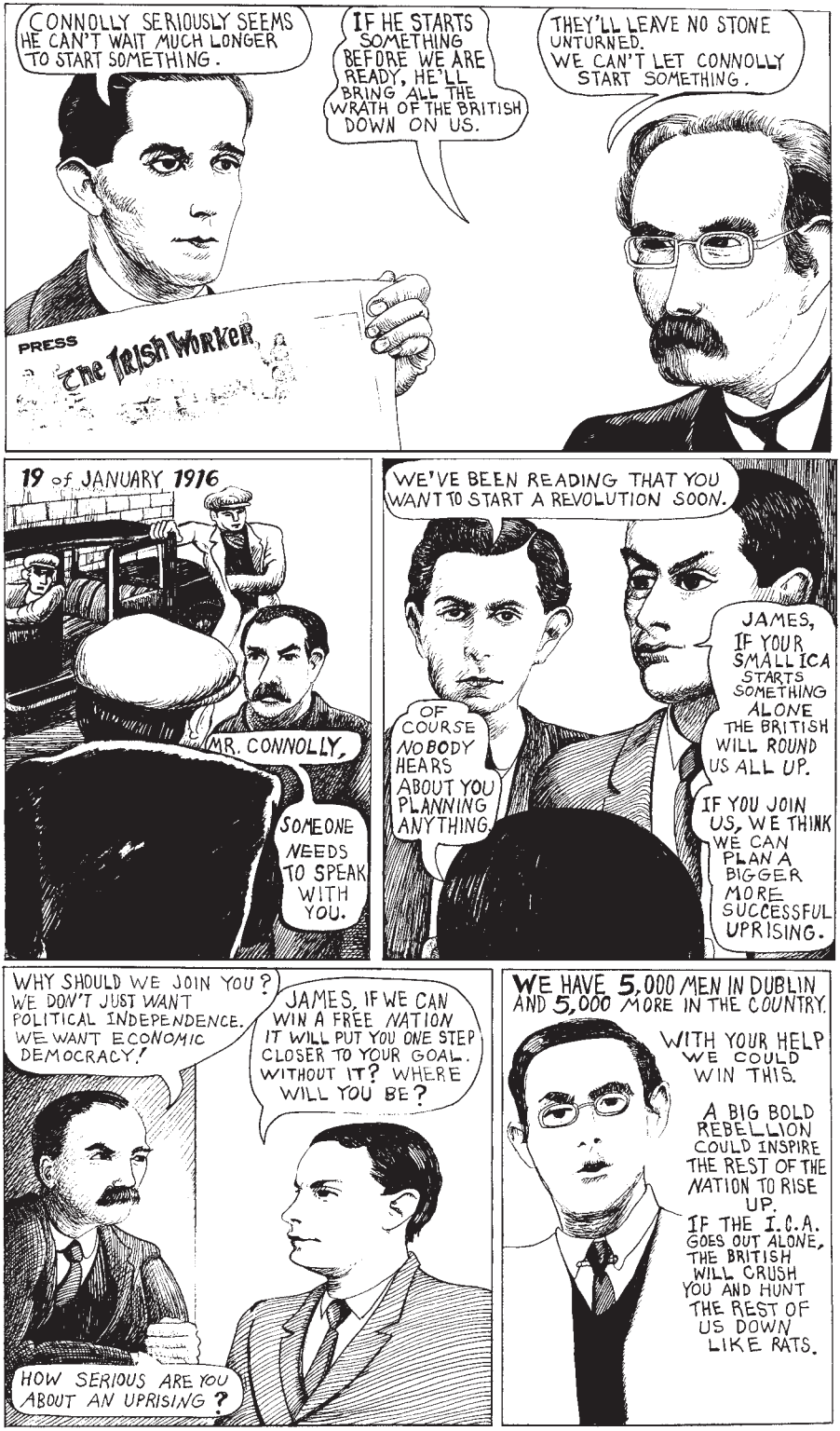

COLLINS, THE BIG FELLOW, WAS LATER ASSASSINATED IN 1922. BEFORE THEN, HIS UNIQUE SKILLS BROUGHT HIM TO BE...
CHAIRMAN OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL ARMY, MINISTER FOR FINANCE, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS, DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, PRESIDENT OF THE I.R.B., TEACHTA DÁLA

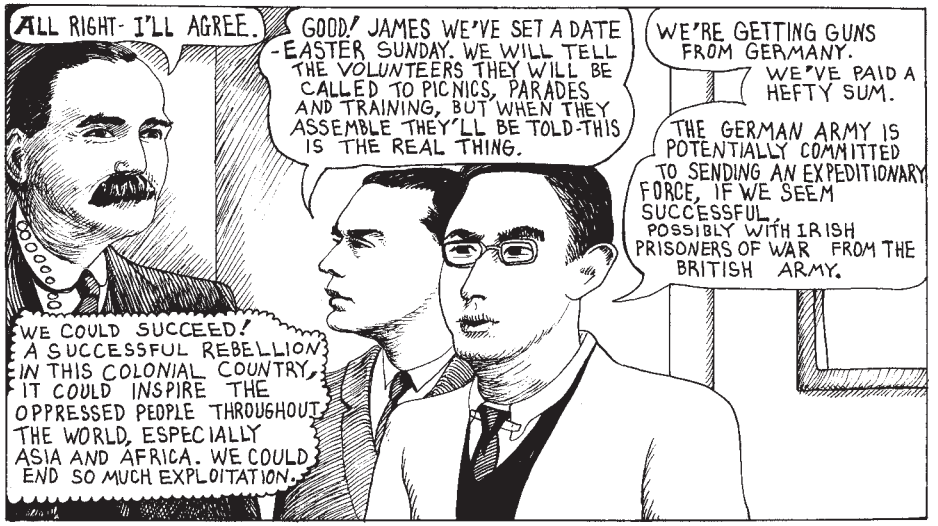

PÁDRAIG PEARSE, AN EDUCATOR, WAS INVITED TO JOIN THE I.R.B. LEADERSHIP.
THE SCHOOL SYSTEM TEACHES IRISH YOUTH TO BE GOOD ENGLISHMEN AND VERY OBEDIENT IRISH.
WE NEED A DIFFERENT EDUCATION.
HE HAD WORKED HARD AND SUCCESSFULLY TO BUILD HIS OWN SCOIL ÉANNA (ST. EDNA'S SCHOOL) TEACHING IN IRISH AND ENGLISH.
WE MUST SAVE THE IRISH LANGUAGE FROM EXTINCTION.
AND TEACH OUR CHILDREN TO BE IRISH.

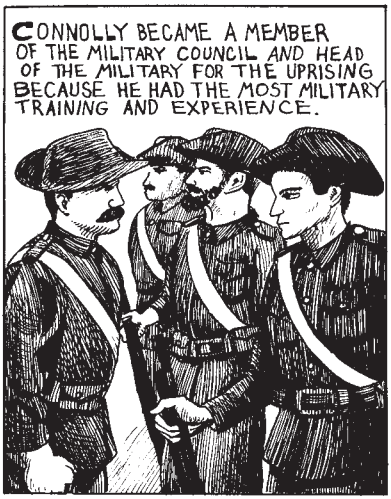

THE TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE I.R.B. WAS THE ELDERLY THOMAS CLARKE
AND THE YOUNG SÉAN MAC DIARMADA
MAC DIARMADA WORKED IN ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING THE IRISH LANGUAGE AND REPUBLICANISM.
Conrad na Gaeilge
I REALIZE I THINK DIFFERENT WHEN I THINK IN IRISH.
THE BRITISH WORK TO MAKE IT SO WE KNOW SO LITTLE THAT IS NOT ENGLISH CULTURE.
THOMAS MACDONAGH, A POET. WHO TAUGHT AT SCOIL EANNA BECAME AN I.R.B. MILITARY LEADER
ALL OF ERIN WILL BE ONE BIG SLUM IF WE DON'T MAKE A MOVE SOON.
COMMANDANT OF THE DUBLIN BRIGADE OF IRISH VOLUNTEERS.
ÉAMONN CEANNT, A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS, ROSE TO BE ON THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE I.R.B. HE WAS KNOWN AS THE BEST TEACHER OF IRISH. HE WAS PASSIONATE ABOUT IRISH FREEDOM, LANGUAGE, MUSIC, AND DANCE. HE WORKED TO PRESERVE THE LANGUAGE AND MUSIC.
ÉAMONN CEANNT FOUNDED THE BANBA RIFLE CLUB.
THIS CLUB ALLOWS VOLUNTEERS TO PRACTICE MARKSMANSHIP. THE BRITISH WANT MEN TO PRACTICE. THEY THINK THAT IT WILL ENCOURAGE US TO JOIN UP TO FIGHT GERMANY.

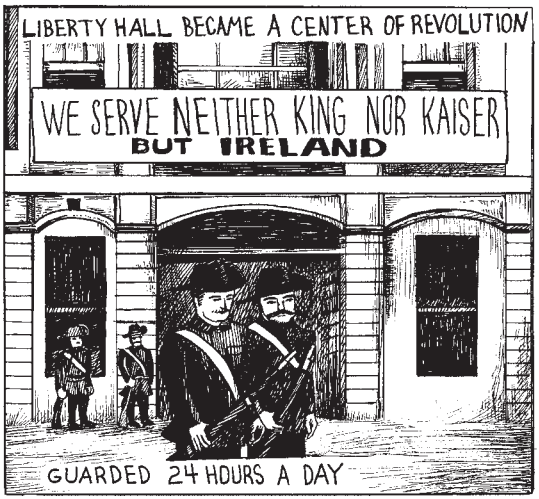
AFTER THE LOCKOUT ENDED THE UNION HAD SO LITTLE MONEY LARKIN WENT TO NEW YORK TO RAISE FUNDS.
JAMES CONNOLLY SENT ME.
CONNOLLY WORKED FOR THE UNION...
AND WITH MANY SOCIALISTS THROUGHOUT EUROPE TO PREVENT A BIG WAR,
WE PLEDGE, WE WILL NOT JOIN A WAR FOR KINGS OR CZAR OR KAISER.
AND THEY PREACHED THAT WORKING PEOPLE NEED TO RISE UP TO END THEIR POVERTY AND THE INEQUALITY.
THE RICH AND POWERFUL WILL STARVE YOUR BABIES AND IGNORE YOUR PETITIONS.
JULY 1914-EUROPE WAS AT WAR
REPUBLICANS TOOK HOPE IN THE OLD IRISH SAYING:
ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTY IS IRELAND'S OPPORTUNITY!
THAT'S TOO VAGUE!
WE HAVE GOT TO MAKE A MOVE FOR IRISH FREEDOM WHILE BRITAIN IS AT WAR.
THE BRITISH BEGAN CONSCRIPTION
BRITONS
WANT
YOU
IN BRITISH COLONIES SUCH AS IRELAND, OPPOSITION WAS QUICK AND STRONG.
AS HEAD OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS, I PROMISE WE WILL RESIST BRITISH CONSCRIPTION WITH ARMS IF NECESSARY!
EOIN MACNEILL
THE IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT GREW AND INTENSIFIED.
IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD
IRISH VOLUNTEERS
IRISH CITIZEN'S ARMY
CUMANN NA MBAN


Cumann na mBan WAS THE WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. IT WAS FOUNDED TO FREE IRELAND FROM BRITISH RULE, BELIEVING THAT BRITAIN WILL NOT LEAVE WITHOUT ARMED CONFLICT.
CONSTANCE MARKIEVICZ, ONE OF THE LEADERS, WORKED CLOSELY WITH JAMES CONNOLLY.
NORA CONNOLLY WAS A MEMBER OF THE BELFAST BRANCH.
CONNOLLY AND THE I.C.A. WERE TALKING OPENLY MORE AND MORE ABOUT REVOLUTION.
CONNOLLY WROTE COMPLAINING ABOUT THE OTHER REPUBLICANS.
WE MUST HAVE A REBELLION SOON WHILE BRITAIN IS BUSY FIGHTING GERMANY.
SOME MEN TALK ABOUT A FREE IRELAND, EVEN PARADE WITH VOLUNTEERS BUT THEY NEVER ACT. TALK IS JUST TALK.
we have been waiting too long
I.R.B. LEADERS TOOK STEPS SECRETLY FOR AN INSURRECTION BY THE VOLUNTEERS.
MAYBE GERMANY WILL PROVIDE GUNS.
THE BRITISH POSTPONED CONSCRIPTION BUT ALSO MADE PLANS TO DESTROY ALL OPPOSITION.
WE HAVE SPIES IN THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY AND THE BRITISH ARMY
THE BRITISH ARE PREPARING TO ROUND UP EVERY LEADING REPUBLICAN.
WE DON'T HAVE MUCH TIME...


CONNOLLY SERIOUSLY SEEMS HE CAN'T WAIT MUCH LONGER TO START SOMETHING.
IF HE STARTS SOMETHING BEFORE WE ARE READY, HE'LL BRING ALL THE WRATH OF THE BRITISH DOWN ON US.
THEY'LL LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED. WE CAN'T LET CONNOLLY START SOMETHING.
PRESS
The Irish Worker
19 of JANUARY 1916
MR. CONNOLLY,
SOMEONE NEEDS TO SPEAK WITH YOU.
WE'VE BEEN READING THAT YOU WANT TO START A REVOLUTION SOON.
OF COURSE NOBODY HEARS ABOUT YOU PLANNING ANYTHING.
JAMES, IF YOUR SMALL ICA STARTS SOMETHING ALONE THE BRITISH WILL ROUND US ALL UP.
IF YOU JOIN US, WE THINK WE CAN PLAN A BIGGER MORE SUCCESSFUL UPRISING.
WHY SHOULD WE JOIN YOU? WE DON'T JUST WANT POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. WE WANT ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY!
JAMES, IF WE CAN WIN A FREE NATION IT WILL PUT YOU ONE STEP CLOSER TO YOUR GOAL. WITHOUT IT? WHERE WILL YOU BE?
HOW SERIOUS ARE YOU ABOUT AN UPRISING?
WE HAVE 5,000 MEN IN DUBLIN AND 5,000 MORE IN THE COUNTRY.
WITH YOUR HELP WE COULD WIN THIS.
A BIG BOLD REBELLION COULD INSPIRE THE REST OF THE NATION TO RISE UP.
IF THE I.C.A. GOES OUT ALONE, THE BRITISH WILL CRUSH YOU AND HUNT THE REST OF US DOWN LIKE RATS.


ALL RIGHT- I'LL AGREE.
GOOD! JAMES WE'VE SET A DATE -EASTER SUNDAY. WE WILL TELL THE VOLUNTEERS THEY WILL BE CALLED TO PICNICS, PARADES AND TRAINING, BUT WHEN THEY ASSEMBLE THEY'LL BE TOLD-THIS IS THE REAL THING.
WE'RE GETTING GUNS FROM GERMANY.
WE'VE PAID A HEFTY SUM.
THE GERMAN ARMY IS POTENTIALLY COMMITTED TO SENDING AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, IF WE SEEM SUCCESSFUL POSSIBLY WITH IRISH PRISONERS OF WAR FROM THE BRITISH ARMY.
WE COULD SUCCEED! A SUCCESSFUL REBELLION IN THIS COLONIAL COUNTRY, IT COULD INSPIRE THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY ASIA AND AFRICA. WE COULD END SO MUCH EXPLOITATION.


CONNOLLY BECAME A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND HEAD OF THE MILITARY FOR THE UPRISING BECAUSE HE HAD THE MOST MILITARY TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE.


LIBERTY HALL BECAME A CENTER OF REVOLUTION
WE SERVE NEITHER KING NOR KAISER
BUT IRELAND
GUARDED 24 HOURS A DAY

IN LIBERTY HALL THEY HAD A PRINTING PRESS.
WE PRINT THAT WHICH THE COMMERCIAL PRESS WOULD NEVER TOUCH.
THE CENSORS WOULDN'T LET THEM IF THEY TRIED.
THE PROCLAMATION OF POBLACHT NA H EIREANN
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

I.R.B. PLANS HAD BEEN MADE WITH SUCH SECRECY, EOIN MACNEILL WAS NOT INFORMED UNTIL A WEEK BEFORE EASTER.

EOIN, WE NEED TO TALK. OUR SPIES IN THE R.I.C. AND THE BRITISH ARMY IN DUBLIN CASTLE TELL US THAT SOON AFTER EASTER THEY WILL ROUND UP EVERY SERIOUS REPUBLICAN.

CONNOLLY, THE I.C.A. AND THE UNIONS ARE WITH US NOW.

WE ARE TO RECEIVE 5,000 GUNS FROM GERMANY THIS WEEK.

WE MUST ACT NOW OR WE WON'T BE ABLE TO ACT IN THIS GENERATION.

WE NEED TO STRIKE ON EASTER SUNDAY. THE BRITISH WON'T EXPECT A REBELLION ON EASTER.

YES, WITH ALL THOSE GUNS WE'LL SUCCEED.

THE IRISH NEVER MET THE SHIP WITH THE GUNS.

DRIVING AT NIGHT ALONG THE SEA TO MEET THE SHIP, THE DRIVER KEPT THE LIGHTS OFF - TO NOT BE SEEN BY POLICE OR THE BRITISH. A WRONG TURN AND HE DROVE OFF A HILL INTO THE SEA. 3 MEN DROWNED.

THE GERMANS SPOTTED A BRITISH SHIP.

SCUTTLE THIS VESSEL AND GET OFF! WE CAN'T HAND THE BRITISH THE GUNS TO SHOOT OUR MEN IN FRANCE.

PETROL

WITHOUT THOSE GUNS IT WAS A TRAGEDY. THE VOLUNTEERS HAD ONLY A LITTLE MORE THAN 2,000 GUNS. THE I.C.A. HAD 200.

WE CAN'T FIGHT THE BRITISH WITH SO LITTLE. THEY HAVE 6,000 TROOPS IN IRELAND AND 50,000 ARMED ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

WE'D BE MASSACRED!

MACNEILL PUT THIS IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

TO ALL IRISH VOLUNTEERS
ALL EVENTS PLANNED FOR EASTER SUNDAY ARE CANCELED
ALL ARE TO OBEY THIS ORDER STRICTLY
EOIN MACNEILL

I SAY WE POSTPONE THE RISING 24 HOURS.

WE MUST TELL ALL OUR MEN!

TIS NOW OR NEVER FOR THIS GENERATION.

MONDAY, SHORTLY BEFORE NOON FROM LIBERTY HALL

FROM LIBERTY HALL THEY MARCHED TO THE GENERAL POST OFFICE
WE 'RE SEIZING THIS BUILDING IN THE NAME OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC!
EVERYBODY OUT!

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN

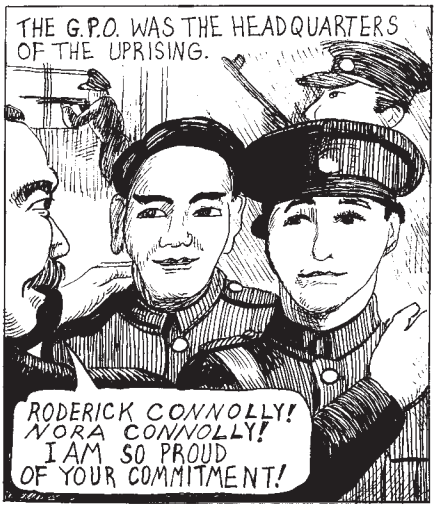
...WE DECLARE THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO THE OWNERSHIP OF IRELAND...

... WE HEREBY PROCLAIM THE IRISH REPUBLIC AS A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE...

... THE REPUBLIC GUARANTEES RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LIBERTY, EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL ITS CITIZENS...

... CHERISHING ALL OF THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION EQUALLY AND OBLIVIOUS OF THE DIFFERENCES CAREFULLY FOSTERED BY AN ALIEN GOVERMENT, WHICH HAVE DIVIDED A MINORITY FROM THE MAJORITY IN THE PAST...

SIGNED ON BEHALF OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERMENT
THOMAS J. CLARKE, SEAN MAC DIARMADA, THOMAS MACDONAGH,
P.H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT, JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT

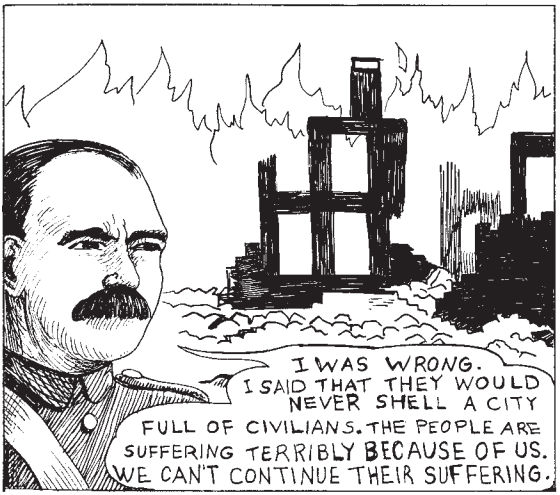


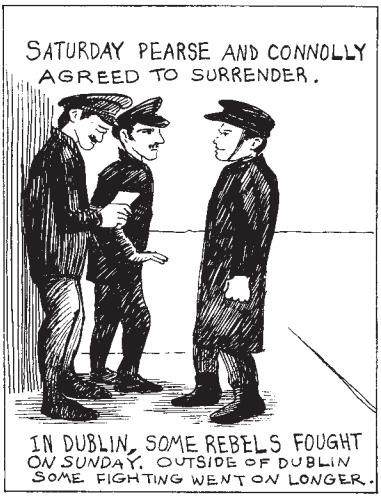
AFTER MACNEILL'S CANCELLATION, MOST VOLUNTEERS WERE NOT NOTIFIED TO ASSEMBLE ON MONDAY. ONLY ABOUT 1,200 ARRIVED. MORE JOINED DURING THE WEEK, BUT BY MIDWEEK 10,000 ADDITIONAL BRITISH SOLDIERS ARRIVED IN DUBLIN.

THE IRISH SEIZED MAJOR BUILDINGS IN DUBLIN AND MADE A SMALL NUMBER OF ATTACKS IN OTHER PARTS OF IRELAND. THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BARRACKS IN ASHBOURNE, COUNTY MEATH WERE CAPTURED AFTER A FIERCE BATTLE. TWO OTHER BARRACKS WERE ATTACKED.

SOON SOME OF THE MOST IMPOVERISHED PEOPLE OF DUBLIN BEGAN LOOTING.

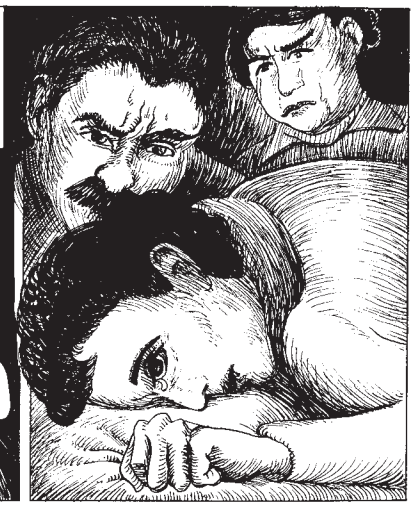
CONNOLLY WAS SHOT TWICE IN THE FOOT AND ANKLE. HE REFUSED TO LEAVE WITH THE WOUNDED.


I WAS WRONG. I SAID THAT THEY WOULD NEVER SHELL A CITY FULL OF CIVILIANS. THE PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING TERRIBLY BECAUSE OF US. WE CAN'T CONTINUE THEIR SUFFERING.

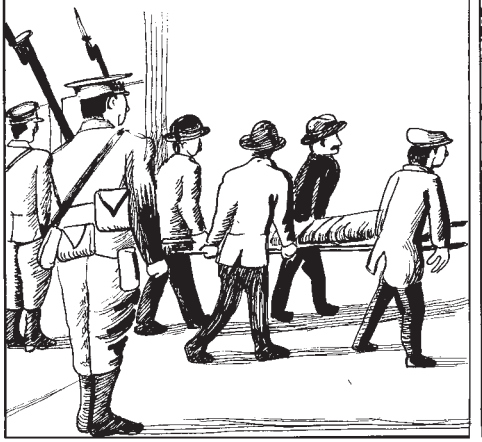

SATURDAY PEARSE AND CONNOLLY AGREED TO SURRENDER.
IN DUBLIN, SOME REBELS FOUGHT ON SUNDAY. OUTSIDE OF DUBLIN SOME FIGHTING WENT ON LONGER.

WHEN JAMES CONNOLLY SURRENDERED HE WAS BROUGHT TO DUBLIN CASTLE, NOT KILMAINHAM GAOL. HE WAS AWOKEN AT 11 PM MAY 11 AND TOLD THAT HE WAS TO BE EXECUTED IN THE MORNING. LILLIE AND NORA WERE BROUGHT TO HIM TWO HOURS LATER. THEY SAT BY HIS BED.

YOUR LIFE! YOUR BEAUTIFUL LIFE JAMES!
BUT WASN'T IT A FULL LIFE LILLIE?
WE MUST TALK ABOUT HOW YOU AND THE FAMILY ARE GOING TO LIVE WHEN I'M GONE...

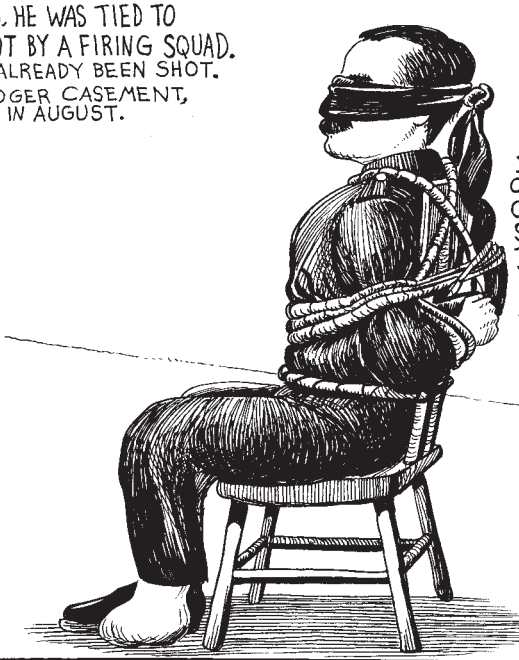


MAY 12th CONNOLLY WAS CARRIED TO KILMAINHAM GAOL.



A CROWD GATHERED OUTSIDE.

UNABLE TO STAND. HE WAS TIED TO A CHAIR AND SHOT BY A FIRING SQUAD. 13 OTHERS HAD ALREADY BEEN SHOT. ONE MORE, SIR ROGER CASEMENT, WOULD BE HUNG IN AUGUST.



CONNOLLY HAD ONCE SAID: IF YOU STRIKE AT, IMPRISON OR KILL US, OUT OF OUR PRISONS OR GRAVES WE WILL STILL EVOKE A SPIRIT THAT WILL THWART YOU, AND PERHAPS, RAISE A FORCE THAT WILL DESTROY YOU! WE DEFY YOU! DO YOUR WORST.

THE RISING STARTED A CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT LED TO AN INDEPENDENT IRISH NATION.
MANY GOOD PEOPLE HAVE CONTINUED THE WORK THAT JAMES CONNOLLY TAUGHT THE WORLD. RODERICK AND NORA CONNOLLY DEDICATED THEIR CAREERS TO LABOUR AND POLITICS. BOTH BECAME MEMBERS OF SEANAD ÉIREANN (IRISH SENATE). RODERICK WAS ALSO A MEMBER OF THE DAIL (LOWER HOUSE OF THE LEGISLATURE).
THE IDEAS AND SPIRIT OF JAMES CONNOLLY LIVE ON IN THE HEARTS AND DEEDS OF MANY UNION MEMBERS AND LEADERS AS WELL AS THE HEARTS AND LIVES OF IRISH MEN AND WOMEN.

We Only Want the Earth

Songs of Freedom, 1907

Some men, faint-hearted, ever seek; Our programme to retouch,
And will insist, whene'er they speak; That we demand too much.
'Tis passing strange, yet I declare; Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are, We only want the earth.

"Be moderate," the trimmers cry, Who dread the tyrants' thunder.
"You ask too much and people fly; From you aghast in wonder."
'Tis passing strange, for I declare; Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are, We only want the earth.

Our masters all a godly crew, Whose hearts throb for the poor,
Their sympathies assure us, too, If our demands were fewer.
Most generous souls! But please observe, What they enjoy from birth
Is all we ever had the nerve; To ask, that is, the earth.

The "labour fakir" full of guile, Base doctrine ever preaches,
And whilst he bleeds the rank and file; Tame moderation teaches.
Yet, in despite, we'll see the day; When, with sword in its girth,
Labour shall march in war array; To realize its own, the earth.

For labour long, with sighs and tears, To its oppressors knelt.
But never yet, to aught save fears, Did the heart of tyrant melt.
We need not kneel, our cause no dearth; Of loyal soldiers' needs
And our victorious rallying cry; Shall be we want the earth!

The Coming Revolt in India: Its Political & Social Causes

Excerpted from *The Harp*, January and February 1908

The appearance at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart of an Indian delegate, voicing the aspirations of the people of India for freedom, and the news items continually appearing in the capitalist press of sporadic acts of revolt in that country—harbingers of the greater revolt now fermenting throughout that vast empire—justify us in placing before our readers the following brief résumé of conditions in that country in order that it might be more possible for them to intelligently follow events. ...

British rule in India, like British rule in Ireland, is a political and social system established and maintained by the conquerors in the interest of the conquered. So runs the legend. But there are not wanting men and women who, strangely enough, maintain that British rule, whether in India or Ireland, is one of the heaviest curses ever inflicted upon an unfortunate people; that its fruits are famine, oppression and pestilence, and that it has but one animating principle wherever found, viz., to extract the utmost

possible tribute from the labor of its unfortunate subjects. With that aspect of British rule peculiar to Ireland we are all in a position to be thoroughly acquainted. ...

The reader must in discussing Indian affairs at once rid himself of all the extravagant ideas about the 'wealth of India' with which the reading public have been familiarized through the writings of ignorant English romancers, avaricious English adventurers or unscrupulous English statesmen. India is, in reality, one of the poorest, if not the poorest, of all the countries in the world. ... When we read that the tribute extracted from India by the imperial government in payment of home charges, pensions to retired officials, remittances, contributions to imperial expenditure, etc., reaches an annual total of from 20 to 27 million pounds sterling, the sum, though large in itself, does not at first appear so exorbitant when levied on a population of two hundred million people. It is only when we are aware of the average daily income of the people upon whose labor this tax is levied that we begin to understand how it is that the 'inestimable benefits of British rule' (?) have been so potent a factor in working out the destruction of this people that the failure of a single harvest is enough to bring upon them all the horrors of famine. ...

India is regarded by its alien rulers as a huge human cattle farm to be worked solely in the interest of the dominant class of another nation. Whatever is done for the development of its vast internal resources is done not for the benefit of the Indian people but primarily with a view to the dividends which the investing classes of England may draw from such development. The salt tax, a tax upon a first necessary of life, is ten times higher today than it was ever known to be under the Mussulman rulers of India. ... As in Ireland during the famine years, the Government rated famine-stricken districts for the relief of their own poor, and so crushed into pauperism those who had managed to survive the loss of their potato crop; so in India, whenever the Government extends financial help to a famine-stricken population it seeks to recoup itself for the outlay by an increase in the salt tax. In other words, it gives relief with one hand and with the other increases the taxes upon the food of a famishing people. In the great famine of thirty years ago in Southern India, when it was estimated that no less than six millions of people had perished of hunger, the salt tax was increased by forty-five per cent. The benevolent rulers of India have also, in order to secure this source of income to their exchequer, prohibited under severe penalties all native manufacture of salt, and when the helpless people, unable to buy salt to season their food, endeavored to scrape a condiment from the deposits left by the receding ocean upon the rocks and pebbles of the sea-shore, they were prosecuted for defrauding the revenue.

... During the nineteenth century India lost no less than sixteen million people by starvation. All this time she has enjoyed the ameliorative influence of civilization on the British Imperial pattern, and in the full felicity borne of that enjoyment her children have died off like rotten sheep, while the hack-apologists of the English governing classes have vied with each other in unctuous laudations of 'our civilizing mission' and our 'benign rule.' ... England, in short, has only one use for India. She sees there a spot revealed by an All-wise Providence for the specific purpose of providing comfortable positions and fat salaries and pensions to the younger sons and poor relations of the English moneyed classes. ...

What, then is the net result of British rule in India? "The main evil of our rule," said Sir T. Munro, Governor of Madras in 1819, "is the degraded state in which we hold the native," and as a corollary to this statement one of our contemporary writers, Sir James Caird, informs us from personal investigation that "in the native States the people are more prosperous than under our rule, and they have not been driven into the evil hands of the sowcars (money-lenders) as our ryots (peasants) have been." A few months ago famine in all its horrors was once more devastating the country, and once more the native States were exempt from the calamity. The English Government officials for months denied the accuracy of the reports which, despite their vigilance, filtered through to Europe, and then, when the awful truth could no longer be concealed, they, like Pilate of old, called heaven and earth to witness they were guiltless of the blood of this people. And once more they called upon the charitable to contribute to the relief of the destitute, whilst they prepared, horse, foot and artillery, to insure that not one penny of the tribute, the exaction of which has created the destitution, shall be withheld from the British Exchequer, or devoted to the people they have ruined.

The people in India require justice, but justice is exactly what they must not expect. Justice is prosaic, dull and unsentimental, and cannot be advertised in Mansion House Funds, or prated about by royal and aristocratic dignitaries. Charity, however, though utterly useless for the purpose of staying the ravages of famine among a population of thirty-six millions perishing beneath it, yet fulfils the purpose of those who desire to hear their own trumpet blowing and see their names advertised side by side with the elite of society and in company with royalty. Above all, it does not interfere with the ceaseless flow of Indian tribute into the coffers of their conquerors. Therefore, justice India must not expect, but charity (D.V.) she will have. "Look well at the background of this fine picture, and lo, the reeking shanks and yellow chapless skulls of Skibbereen, and the ghosts of starved Hindoos in dusky millions."

Direct Action in Belfast

Irish Worker, September 16, 1911

We have just had, and taken, the opportunity in Belfast to put into practice a little of what is known on the Continent of Europe as Direct Action.

Direct Action consists in ignoring all the legal and parliamentary ways of obtaining redress for the grievances of Labour, and proceeding to rectify these grievances by direct action upon the employer's most susceptible part—his purse. This is very effective at times, and saves much needless worry, and much needless waste of union funds.

Direct Action is not liked by lawyers, politicians, or employers. It keeps the two former out of a job, and often leaves the latter out of pocket. But it is useful to Labour, and if not relied upon too exclusively, or used too recklessly, it may yet be made a potent weapon in the armoury of the working class.

The circumstances under which we came to put in practice the newest adaptation of it in Belfast were as follows:

A dock labourer named Keenan was killed at the unloading of a ship owing to a bag being released by one of the carriers a moment too soon. Flying down the chute it struck Keenan, knocking him to the ground and killing him. The accident happened owing to the practice of the stevedores of backing in a team of horses about ten minutes before the meal hour, and demanding that the men rush the work in order to load the vans before quitting for their meals. It was in this perfectly needless rush the sad affair happened.

What was our surprise to read in the report of the inquest that the solicitor for the merchant insinuated that the man was killed because he was a non-union man—that in short he was murdered by the union members! As a matter of fact he had promised to join, and being an old dock labourer had been given a few days grace in which to come up to our offices and make good.

All the papers of Belfast gave prominence to this "Extraordinary Allegation," as one journal called it, and the matter was commented upon freely throughout the city.

After due deliberation, thinking over all the possible means of redress for this foul libel we resolved to take the matter into our own hands, and put a little pressure upon the purse of the man who employed this libeller to slander the Union.

Accordingly at dinner time we told the men employed on the ship in question—the Nile—not to resume work until the merchant repudiated the libel or disclaimed all responsibility therefor. The men stood by loyally, and immediately all the forces of capital and law and order were on the

alert. The news spread around the docks as on a wireless telegraph, and both sides were tense with expectancy.

While we were thus waiting and watching the stevedore of the Nile sent for the merchant, and asked me through one of his foremen to wait on the spot for him. I waited, but whilst I waited one very officious Harbour official ordered me off the Harbour Estate. The Harbour of Belfast, unlike Dublin or Liverpool, is practically enclosed property. I informed Mr Constable that there was no meeting in progress, and that I was only waiting an answer to our request for a disclaimer from the merchant. He then became rude and domineering, and eventually began to use force. I then told him that if I, as a union official, could not speak to the men individually on the Harbour Estate we would take the men off where we could talk to them.

So we gave the word and called off every man in the Low Docks. In ten minutes 600 men responded and left the docks empty.

In ten minutes more a District Superintendent, merchants, managers, detectives, and Harbour underlings generally were rushing frantically up to the Union rooms begging for the men to go back and "everything would be arranged."

Well, everything was arranged within an hour. The offending solicitor, after many hoity-toity protests that "he would not be dictated to by the dockers," climbed gracefully down and dictated a letter to the Press disclaiming any intention to impute evil actions to the Union members, and the letter accordingly appeared in all the Belfast papers. In addition the Harbour Master assured us that he regretted the action of the constable, which would not be allowed to happen again, and that we would be given full liberty to go anywhere in the docks or ships at all times.

It was all a great object lesson, and has had its full effect on the minds of the Belfast workers. It has taught them that there are other ways than by means of expensive law-suits to vindicate the character and rights of the toilers; and as a result it has given dignity and self-respect to the members of the Union. ...

The Awakening of Ulster's Democracy

Forward, June 7, 1913

The largest Labour Demonstration seen in Dublin in this generation took place on Sunday, 25th May. It was on the occasion of the holding of a May demonstration, and if a little belated, it made up in size and in enthusiasm for the tardiness of the celebration.

But the mere size of the demonstration was not even its most remarkable point—that was provided rather by its character than by its dimen-

sions. There have ere now been held in Dublin Labour Demonstrations greater in magnitude, and perhaps other generations have seen some even surpassing the one under notice. But all such demonstrations have been part of some other movement—for instance, a Labour Demonstration of the supporters of Home Rule, the Land League, or as in O'Connell's days, of the Repeal Movement. It was of some such demonstration that Charles Gavin Duffy wrote one of his finest poems—the poem containing that verse so frequently quoted since by Home Rule politicians desirous of winning the English Labour vote: "Ever to toil, ever to moil, This is our social charter; And city slave and peasant serf, Each its unfailing martyr."

Then as now the Home Rule politician was bubbling over with sympathy for Labour, provided that Labour knew how to behave itself, and keep its proper place.

Its proper place, of course, being as one of the assets of the political movement of some section of its masters. Thus Labour is ever encouraged to revolt against the Orange sweaters of the North, but nothing must be done to encourage any such revolt against the Nationalist sweaters of the South. As the song says: "Oh, no, we never mention them: Their names are never heard!"

The revolt of Labour when it can be manipulated as an asset of the Home Rule movement is all right, but the revolt of Labour against the slum landlords, grabbers and sweating employers who control that movement is a very naughty, unpatriotic, anti-Irish, irreligious, blasphemous, immoral, factionist, traitorous, cloven-hoof sort of iniquity that ought to be suppressed.

Hence the significance of the demonstration of Labour on Sunday, 25th May, will be appreciated when it is understood that it was not only not under the patronage of any political party, but was out flatly and defiantly in opposition to them all. The reporters of the capitalist press were ordered off the platforms, and hooted by the assembled multitude.

The working class of Dublin in a greater proportion than that of any of the great cities of these countries, has made up its mind in favour of independent political action. The fact that it is sternly Nationalist does not alter that fact. With it Nationalism is not a thing to be argued about, any more than the existence of Ireland is a matter of controversy or speculation. But having that fact allowed, it does not propose any longer to be made the sport of politicians whom it suspects of using Nationalist aspirations to cloak and protect capitalist outrages.

Thus the rising vote in favour of Labour at all municipal elections in Dublin, despite the fact that such elections are made political tests by the United Irish League. Given Home Rule, and payment of election expenses,

Dublin would go Labour at the first election.

It is often said that the Irish flag is a green flag to suit a green people, but the Dublin workers are not so green as to believe that a party which voted against the Right to Work Bill, the Minimum Wage for Miners, and the Minimum Wage for Railwaymen, which intrigued against the application to Ireland of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children and the Medical Benefits of the Insurance Act, can be described as anything else than a treacherous "friend" of Labour.

Some day a similar spirit will come up North, and the workers of the North-East corner will get tired of being led by the nose by a party captained by landlords, and place-hunting lawyers. Here in Ulster the ascendancy party does not even need to pretend to be favourable to the aspirations of Labour; it is openly hostile, and the inculcation of slavish sentiments is a business it never neglects. In that is the main difference between the parties—the growth of a rebellious spirit amongst the Nationalist democracy has compelled the Home Rule politicians to pay court to Labour, to assume a virtue even when they have it not, but the lack of such a spirit in this section has enabled the Orange leaders to openly flout and antagonise the Labour movement.

But times change, and we change with them. Ulster democracy is awakening also, and we long and will see in Belfast movements of Labour as great as, if not greater than any of which Dublin can boast. Already the dry bones are stirring. There is, thanks to our ceaseless propaganda at mill doors, more active and intelligent discontent in the mills of Belfast today than at any time past. The ranks of the Irish Textile Workers' Union are being recruited by hundreds, an emphatic demand is being made for the extension to the entire linen industry of the Trade Boards Act, and a great demonstration for that purpose is to be held on Monday, 9th June, in Smithfield, to be addressed by A. Conley of the Clothiers Operatives of Leeds, and Councillor Tom Lawlor of Dublin. It is to be hoped that all the Belfast readers of *Forward* will attend.

In Larne the oppressive conditions in the Aluminium works have also produced a revolt, and the poor slaves there who have been working 84 hours per week have turned to the Irish Transport Workers' Union for relief, with the result that a betterment is already in sight. The dock labourers in the same port have joined the above union to a man, and in fact Labour in the North is beginning to shake its chains.

On the Belfast docks also the section of the dockers who, under the influence of religious prejudice and political intriguing, have held aloof from organisation, are now joining in troops, and increases have already been obtained for sections of these workers.

In the shipyards the agitation in favour of an Eight Hour Day is being seriously discussed, and the forces of Labour generally seem to be gathering for a battle of battles for the things that really matter. In that glorious day Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right, but all those leaders who now trumpet forth that battle cry will then be found arrayed against the Ulster democracy.

Forces of Civilization

Workers' Republic, April 8, 1916

We have already pointed out in these columns that in the midst of the present world horror the forces of Organised Labour are the only forces still consciously and painstakingly pushing on the work of upbuilding a saner and juster civilisation. Each day confirms this view of matters. We receive in our office newspaper exchanges from all parts of the world, and it is noteworthy that in them all, next in importance to the news of the war, we always find prominence given to the efforts of Organised Labour to maintain the standard of living of the workers, and to secure their position against present and potential attacks. The Organised Labour Movement in effect says that no matter what the outcome of the war may be from a military standpoint it is essential that its finish shall see the working class of the world deprived of none of those rights and liberties they had won before its outbreak.

The full realisation of that wish we must regretfully say is in many countries an utter impossibility. In Great Britain, for instance, the Labour Leaders have so shamelessly sold the hard won position of their members that it is quite certain that the end of the war will see the capitalist class securely entrenched in possession of economic power greater than this generation has ever seen. It matters little what legal guarantees the Government may have promised or even given to the Labour Leaders. Legislation does not control the Lords of Industry; it is the Lords of Industry who control legislation. As we have often put it: The Class which rules industrially will rule politically.

The end of the war will find the British worker utterly demoralised by the advent of new conditions in the workshop. The apprenticeship system smashed, the Division or Dilution of Labour everywhere introduced, women and girls thoroughly expert in the work of performing certain processes hitherto part of the work of men, new machines installed, and the whole system of labour completely revolutionised in administration, in technique, and in outlook. All the old safeguards will be broken down, and in his efforts to erect new ones more in conformity with industrial development the worker will be hampered and baffled by the existence of vast masses of unemployed derelicts from the disbanded armies—unemployed

derelicts making a reserve for the Capitalist Class with which to break strikes and enforce their will.

Every force that seeks to maintain for the labourer the position he had before the war, and to improve upon that position is for that reason a valuable force for the preservation of civilisation. The civilisation of any country to-day is judged by the position of its working class. A degraded working class means a degraded country, and a country weak against its foreign enemies. A working class upon a high plane of intelligence, in possession of social rights and strongly entrenched upon the political and economic field means a country dignified, respected, progressive, and powerful against foreign attack.

Reasoning from the foregoing the reader who has been attentively observing the trend of events in Ireland will appreciate the fact that the strikes and Labour struggles now on in this country are not mere isolated phenomena without bearing upon the progress of the race. Rather he will see that all of them—the prolonged fight of the City of Dublin Dockers, the campaign of the Dublin Building Trades for an increase of wages, the continued and successful agitation for the betterment of conditions in the Gas Works, the spread of the Transport Workers' Union through the South of Ireland (of which the report of the meeting in Listowel in this issue is further evidence), the increases gained by the same Union in Cork, Sligo, Tralee, Kingstown, and Fenit, and all the other manifestations of activity on the part of Organised Labour, are so many evidences of the resolve of the workers to preserve and extend their heritage of freedom, despite the madness of the rulers of the world.

Germany has shown a lesson to the world in this respect. That country had the best educated working class in the world, the greatest number of labour papers, daily, weekly, and monthly, the greatest number of parliamentary and local representatives elected on a working class platform, the greatest number of Socialist votes in proportion to the entire population. All this was an index to the high level of intelligence of the German working class, as well as to their strong political and industrial position. This again was an infallible index to the high civilisation of the whole German nation. Germany had builded well upon the sure foundation of an educated self-respecting people. Upon such a foundation Germany laid her progress in peace, and her success in war.

Let Ireland learn this lesson. The labour fights the public hears of in Ireland are not signs of mere restlessness—they are the throbbing of the hearts of the worker aspiring after a civilisation that shall make the Irish nation of our time a worthy representative of the free Ireland of the past.

Afterword: James Connolly in History

Renewed recognition of James Connolly's life and work, his triumphs and his tragedies, is very much on the agenda in 2016. The centenary of the Easter Rising (or Rebellion) splashes Connolly's face and borrowed memories of his martyrdom across the whole Irish diaspora. Fact and legend, always abundant in the Connolly saga, re-emerge with a new vividness. The real story has, at least to some extent, come back into view for us all.

The 2015 republication of a British feminist classic, Sheila Rowbotham's *Friends of Alice Wheeldon: The Anti-War Activist Accused of Plotting to Kill Lloyd George,* offers one fascinating avenue for speculation about the breadth of Connolly's thinking and influence. Glasgow, Scotland, during the 1910s, was a beehive of socialist activity, heavily impacted by workplace conflicts, pressure for women's rights, the approach of war, and the presence of a suffering Irish proletariat. Connolly and his ideas were present in all of these causes.

Connolly spent precious years from 1902 to 1910 in the United States, much of his time and effort evoking the grand vision of the IWW: socialism emerging as the "new society within the old." Breaking with the traditions of insular or sectarian socialism, propagandizing but unable to reach the working class successfully, Connolly urged the formation of broader, more comprehensive radical movements. Returning to Ireland, he energetically joined the campaign to have Irish children included in the British Act of Parliament providing funds for feeding the impoverished. Likewise, he stood proudly on platforms with non-socialists, urging voting rights for women, a demand that "pure" socialists considered a mere bourgeois reform. His 1915 article in the *Irish Worker,* simply titled "Woman," contained this vivid phrase, "None so fitted to break the chains as they who wear them, none so well equipped to decide what is a fetter."

From Dublin to Glasgow (where the antiwar movement was weaker, but the women's rights campaign stronger than in Ireland), Connolly figured not only as an agitator for radical reform but as a monumental visionary. He placed aside old prejudices against religious people joining socialist and labor movements, insisting that one day the reactionary views of even the Catholic Church would fall away as the class struggle accelerated and capitalism crumbled.

Recent scholarship has accorded Connolly further significance. By seeing in Ireland's fate a microcosm of empire's victims, the self-taught worker-intellectual looked ahead to the expansion of Marxist themes in the twentieth century and beyond.

Badly outnumbered within the Second International but joined by the likes of Rosa Luxemburg, a circle of Dutch socialists, and American

socialist leader Daniel DeLeon, Connolly placed an urgency on the issues of empire and revolt. After the revolutionary wave in Europe receded (and with Connolly himself gone), struggles against empire came out of the Marxist background and into the front row.

A generation after Connolly's death, his successors were working feverishly to explain to socialists and others the changing reality of the world scene. In the writing and political activity of C.L.R. James and others, the central importance of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for the future of the socialist movement became clear. Rosa Luxemburg had been the first to argue that capitalism might well extend its life for generations through robbing and devastating the undeveloped world. Opposed on principle to any nationalist movement, Luxemburg herself could not appreciate the full weight of the Irish left and its responsibility to history. The British empire, ruler of the seas, had long ago begun by enslaving island neighbors.

Connolly, some would argue, had been the earliest of any revolutionary thinkers in the "colonies" to formulate an anti-imperialist narrative stretching across centuries. Foreshadowing the activism of Che Guevara and the writings of Frantz Fanon, Connolly sketched the potential of a solidarity that could break the power of empire and end the nightmare of capitalism. He had the experience, the legacy, but also the self-taught intellectual power and determination as writer to make the decisive connections.

Labour in Irish History (1910), drafted in the U.S. but published only after his return, could easily be described as Connolly's most profound historical but also theoretical text. As he looked back across the centuries, he saw clearly what Marxist theoreticians in the 1960s-80s would come to describe as forced "underdevelopment," the stifling of a domestic economy by the purposeful efforts of the invaders and occupiers.

A premodern, thinly settled society with competing mini-dynasties offered little organized resistance to the military campaigns of successive invaders, prominent among them the Normans and centuries later, Cromwell's army. The imported English plantation economy, like all imperial settlements from South Africa to the West Bank, brought religious and racial bias—from the English point of view, the Irish were definitely a lesser race—along with a new dominant religion and economic-political estates. Thereby, Ireland was repeatedly reshaped to alien purposes. Farming became heavily commercial and industry blossomed. The wealth thus created, like the wealth created by the production of sugar and cotton in the West Indies, was brought "home" in large quantities. English lords and ladies lived and dined from the ill-gotten profits of their ancestors or by their own location, temporary or long term, in supposedly barbarous Ireland. English families in permanent residence scorned the native population

and culture as nearly subhuman, worthy of starvation and brute force. The "culture" that these aristocrats appreciated and promoted had no relation to the true cultures of their borrowed lands.

It would not do to push this comparison too far. Abused and exploited, the Irish were not slaughtered directly in large numbers—leaving aside the vast starvation during the Potato Famine—and they enjoyed the dubious privilege of exporting themselves to anywhere they could live … as lower-class white people. Today's scholars add that if Connolly grasped the social and economic significance of colonization, he had scarce formal training upon which to base his insights. He made few direct references to the peoples of Africa or Asia, except to denounce the British role across the colonized world. But he memorably hoped a prospective nationalist revolt within India might bring a revolt of the Irish against the same colonial masters.

Any analysis of Connolly's limitations, however, misses the point in several important ways. Self-taught revolutionary that he was, he made full use of his opportunities and his milieux. In his American days, he first associated himself closely with the Socialist Labor Party and its press, the *Daily People* newspaper, which carried much information about the role of imperialism in the world. The SLP dwindled after a bitter conflict within the IWW, but its opposition to immigration restrictions (sought by craft union leaders, especially in the United States) and the repeated call for international support of "native" revolts arose regularly in the *People*'s pages. Thereafter, Connolly's closest allies could be found in the Charles H. Kerr Company, which published several of his short works, and the associated *International Socialist Review,* which held the banner of anti-imperialism high.

Far from simple-minded in his critique of British imperialism's effects upon the oppressed Irish, Connolly could even see, as few others, how Irish men and women could be tempted to join the grand imperial army, and did, to their moral corruption and material benefit. It was a great leap forward that has not been appreciated, so little was Connolly's advanced thinking known or appreciated outside Ireland and Irish proletarian colonies abroad.

Perhaps none of this hard thinking could have been brought to fruition without Connolly's keen moral and emotional sensibilities, so deeply rooted in his Irishness, and so brilliantly expressed in his newspaper, *The Harp.* Modern and postmodern thinking has little room for the sentimentality of Connolly's lyrics, written to accompany traditional songs. They were written to rouse workers to common struggle against the capitalist oppressors, but also drew upon the most tender sentiments of family feel-

ings and the great urge toward a better society, an urge maintained through great difficulty with the dream of what that better society would surely bring. *Songs of Freedom by Irish Authors,* the five-cent edition prepared by Connolly and published by an Irish-American firm in 1909, delivered inspiration to lift the hopes of every reader (and singer) for what humanity could become.

—Paul Buhle, editor

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HLF

The Hungarian Literature Fund is an independent body supporting the publication and distribution of Wobbly and other labor literature. Founded in 1956 by Hungarian-speaking Wobblies after *Bermunkas* suspended publication, the Fund has produced the annual Solidarity Forever labor history calendar since 1985. Publications and material on commemorations of the centenary of the judicial murder of IWW organizer and songwriter Joe Hill are available at http://joehill100.com
Information on the Hungarian Literature Fund is available at http://iwwhlf.org

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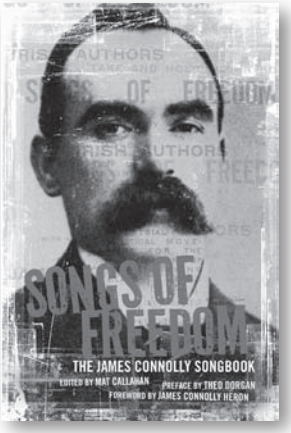
SONGS OF FREEDOM
THE JAMES CONNOLLY SONGBOOK
EDITED BY MAT CALLAHAN
PREFACE BY THEO DORGAN
FOREWORD BY JAMES CONNOLLY HERON

Songs of Freedom

The James Connolly Songbook

James Connolly • Edited by Mat Callahan
Preface by Theo Dorgan
Foreword by James Connolly Heron
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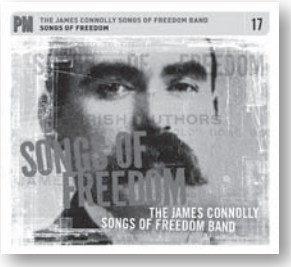
Songs of Freedom is the name of the songbook edited by James Connolly and published in 1907. Connolly's introduction is better known than the collection for which it was written, containing his oft-quoted maxim: "Until the movement is marked by the joyous, defiant singing of revolutionary songs, it lacks one of the most distinctive marks of a popular revolutionary movement, it is the dogma of a few and not the faith of the multitude." Though most of the songs were of Irish derivation, the songbook itself was published in New York and directed to the American working class, explicitly internationalist in its aims.

Songs of Freedom is a celebration of the life and work of James Connolly, the Irish revolutionary socialist martyred by the British government for his role in the Easter Rising of 1916. It is at once a collection of stirring revolutionary songs and a vital historical document. For the first time in a hundred years, readers will find the original *Songs of Freedom* as well as the *1919 Connolly Souvenir* program published in Dublin for a concert commemorating Connolly's birth. Both are reproduced exactly as they originally appeared, providing a fascinating glimpse of the workers' struggle at the beginning of the last century. To complete the picture is included the *James Connolly Songbook* of 1972, which contains not only the most complete selection of Connolly's lyrics, but also historical background essential to understanding the context in which the songs were written and performed.



Songs of Freedom (CD)

The James Connolly Songs of Freedom Band
ISBN: 978-1-60486-831-9 • $14.95 • 53 minutes

Songs of Freedom accomplishes the difficult task of making contemporary music out of old revolutionary songs. Far from the archival preservation of embalmed corpses, the inspired performance of a rocking band turns the timeless lyrics of James Connolly into timely manifestos for today's young rebels. As Connolly himself repeatedly urged, nothing can replace the power of music to raise the fighting spirit of the oppressed. Giving expression to Connolly's internationalism, musical influences ranging from traditional Irish airs to American rhythm and blues are combined here in refreshing creativity. The instrumentation is acoustic: guitars, uilleann pipes, whistles, fiddle, accordion, and Irish harp, as well as drums and bass.

A Full Life: James Connolly

PEOPLE WILL ONLY BE FREE WHEN THEY OWN THE LAND THEY PLOUGH AND THE STARS IN THE SKY.
The STARRY PLOUGH, THE FLAG OF THE ICA, BECAME A SYMBOL OF MANY IRISH LABOUR GROUPS.

Executed by a British firing squad on May 12, 1916, for his role in organizing the Easter Rising, James Connolly was one of the most prominent radical organizers and agitators of his day. Born in Scotland in 1868 to Irish immigrant parents, Connolly spent most of his adult life organizing for labor unions and socialist organizations in Ireland, Scotland, and the United States. Despite attending school for only a few years, Connolly became a leading socialist writer and theoretician, founding and editing newspapers including *The Socialist* (Scotland), *The Harp* (United States), and *The Workers' Republic* (Ireland). As a labor organizer, Connolly stressed the importance of direct action, broad working-class unity, and a commitment to ending labor's exploitation. As a socialist agitator, Connolly saw economic and political independence as inextricably intertwined. This pamphlet, the first graphic treatment of Connolly's life, is issued on the centenary of the Easter Rising.

Tom Keough has been an artist all his life, trying to use his talents to do some good in this world. Tom's paintings and illustrations have been shown at the Museum of Modern Art, the United Nations offices, in union newsletters, and used by organizations such as the National Council of Churches and the War Resisters League.

Editor **Paul Buhle**, formerly a senior lecturer at Brown University, produces radical comics. He founded the SDS journal *Radical America* and the archive *Oral History of the American Left* and, with Mari Jo Buhle, is coeditor of the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*.

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